A PROSPECT OF The State of IRELAND, FROM The Year of the World 1756. TO The Year of Christ 1652.

Written by *P. W.*

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A

PROSPECT

OF

The State of

ORIGINAL

The Year of the World 1952.

TO

The Year of Christ 1652.

TO THE

KING.

SIR,

I Appear before Your Majesty with the ill grace of a Man who comes for a Pardon, and confesses he did the fault in hopes of it. For 'tis undeniably a guilty presumption in me to make bold with Your Royal Name, and that to a slight Argument, or at least made so by ill handling; such as will give People too

much reaſon to ſay, Your Name is the only thing, which ſhews handſom in the whole *Proſpect*. Neither have I any, but the ſorry excuſe of defenceleſs guilt: I was drawn in, though not by others, by Counſellors as dangerous and deceitful as my own thoughts. I conſidered that This, in the original deſign, was part of a Book which has the honour to be made Your's, and thought my altering the Method did not alter Your Majeſties Property; neither could I conceive, when Your Name appear'd on the one half, any but Yours could ſhew well on the other. I conſidered that 'tis an account of part of Your People, and contains an account of part of Your Pedigree. To the King, and to the Head of the Family, Juſtice I thought appropriated both. For it is the glory of the *Iriſh* Nation to have contributed to Your Sacred Blood, as well as the reſt under Your happy Government: and when they ſhed their own in Your defence, to know they

they ſpend an inconſiderable part for preſervation of the moſt Noble and moſt Precious: a ſweeter and ſometimes a ſtronger tye than the Duty of Subjects. As reciprocally, Nature with its ſecret allurements of propenſion towards a Country, from whence we are derived, and where our Anceſtours have lived great and glorious, joyns with the common care of a King, and Father of all his People, to move Your Majeſty to cheriſh them with the reſt. Thus much I beg leave to ſay by the by in behalf of my Native Countrey, becauſe every Writer has not been either ſo curious to obſerve, or ſo kind to publiſh it. But leaving that matter, theſe reaſons perſuaded me I might find at leaſt Companions in my fault, and where Your Sacred Name has been made bold with as improperly. Yet what wrought moſt, was a ſtrong temptation, and which I could the leſs reſiſt, becauſe it came in the diſ-

guiſe of gratitude, to appear as little unworthy, as I could, of many and ſignal effects of Your Goodneſs. Every body knows I am deeply in Your Debt, and I thought it but juſt every body ſhould know I own it, with the ſenſe which becomes me; though I have not hitherto ſaid ſo much as bare, I thank you, no not to Your Majeſty Your ſelf ſometimes. The thoughts of Death, which it concerns a man of my age to entertain, would be too terrible to me, if it ſhould carry me away with the imputation of an inſenſible or ungrateful man. As I have always thought the beſt return a Subject can make to the favours of his Prince, is by his ſervice to deſerve them; I have indeed the comfort, that I cannot reproach my ſelf with not having done my beſt. But alas! I muſt ſay to You as to God, after all I have, to my great grief, been but an unprofitable ſervant. That thought is a miſery,

misery, which I am ill able to support. Should Ungrateful be added to Useless, it would certainly and soon sink my gray hairs to the Grave. Fear of this, as fear sometimes produces boldness, has cast me into that, of which I am now guilty, and in which my ill Fate still pursues me. For I am useless now too, having with much pains got a Present to make You, for which neither Your Majesty, nor any body else perhaps will be the better, and I know not whether worth more, than just so much Paper. But yet 'tis all I can do. For we of the Scribling Trade are like Merchants who trade upon credit, and pay altogether in Bills. Besides that in truth, there lives not perhaps the man, whose stock, or luck in managing it is great enough to answer the mighty sum I owe You. These were the thoughts which flatter'd my presumption with hopes of Pardon, to which all even Your Mer-

cy will yet be needful. For I am an unrepenting Sinner, and who, far from ſorrow, glory in the fault which gives me an occaſion to tell all the World, I have lived and mean to die,

Your Majeſtie's moſt

Loyal, moſt obedient,

and moſt humble Subject,

Peter Walſh.

THE PREFACE.

READER, You may well imagine by the Title *and Method of this Treatiſe, the Author was very far from intending, it ſhould paſs for a Hiſtory of* Ireland. *And for the Bulk I can aſſure you, that although, conſidering the extent of Times, and variety of Matters treated of therein, it be but little; yet, according to his firſt deſign, it ſhould have been far leſs, at leaſt by five parts of ſix.*

The truth is, I never had a thought of writing a word on this Subject, before the Earl *of* Caſtlehaven *deſired, nor only deſired but importun'd me a twelve month paſt, when his Lordſhip's* Memoir's *had been a working off the Preſs, that I would draw an Appendix to be publiſh'd with them, which might in ſhort repreſent the original Cauſe*

Cauſe of the Rebellion *broke out in* Ireland *on the* 23d *of* October, 1641. *and conſequently ſomewhat of the* State *of that Kingdom, and* Fatal Feud *betwixt the two Nations there, ſince* Henry II's *time.*

What little inclination I had to the Subject, it will be to no purpoſe I ſhould tell, being you ſee I was at laſt perſuaded: though nevertheleſs I muſt acknowledg, it was only the power this Nobleman has, and can juſtly challenge over me, * *wrought my acquieſcence to his deſires. But laying aſide that matter, what I would next inform you of are theſe particulars.* 1. *That although eight or nine ſheets in the Whole, was the moſt I had firſt deſign'd to write (becauſe a larger Tract could not ſo well ſuit the Title of an* Appendix *to his Lordſhip's* Memoir's:) *yet when I was once enter'd on the Subject, ſo great a variety of matters offer'd themſelves to conſideration, as took up more time and paper than I firſt intended.* 2. *That in the mean while ſome Copies of the ſaid* Memoir's *chancing (by ſome unexpected accident) to be given out by the Book-ſeller: my Lord, conſidering he could not otherwiſe prevent a ſiniſter interpretation of his meaning by them in the main, as they were ſeen thus imperfect, found himſelf neceſſitated not only not to ſtay my leiſure; but inſtead of ſuch an Appendix as he expected*

* See *Caſtle-Haven's* Memoir's pag. 87.

expected from me, to change his former Preface, and write and print another; with an Appendix also of his own, though upon another Subject: and with such both amendments and accomplishments as he thought necessary, to order the free exposing of his Book to publick view. 3. *That notwithstanding I had on this emergent occasion thought my self eas'd of any further study on a Subject I had no liking to, it prov'd much otherwise. For his Lordship nevertheless continued his desires that I should prosecute and finish what I had begun: and to oblige me to it, without hopes of any change in him, gave notice in his Preface to the Reader of his* Memoir's, *how the Appendix he had first intended and promis'd of the* State of Ireland *was grown to such a Bulk as would require its coming out in a Book by its self. And therefore I found my self more deeply engag'd.* 4. *That, however, seeing I was now at more liberty, as for Time, so for Matter and for Title both, I resolv'd to change my first design of so few sheets, and write under the Title of a* Prospect, *&c. about threescore sheets in all: but in the same method and Stile I had already begun with, as more agreeable to my purpose of giving (though not a strict much less a full History, yet) the choicest Collections, and freest observations too, I could derive from, or in my way,* i. e. *in several, easie, plain Discourses make upon the* History of Ireland; *Thirty sheets representing*

preſenting in ſhort the ſtate of that Kingdom from the firſt Plantation of it after the Flood, till the Engliſh *Conqueſt: and the other thirty what follow'd ſince for the laſt five hundred years.* 5. *That becauſe I conſidered the* Form *(as* Printers *call it) which I had alſo begun with already, and therefore muſt have continued the ſame, would be too narrow and little for a Volume of ſixty ſheets, not rendred unproportionably thick: I give them divided as in two Parts, which I call the* Former *and* Later, *ſo in two Volums, each apart. So much for the Occaſion, Title, Method, Form, Diviſion of this Treatiſe.*

As for thoſe matters of Iriſh *Antiquity, ſo ſtrangely far out of our ken, diſcours'd in this* Former Part, *I doubt not, ſome at leaſt, or peradventure many of 'em will be excepted againſt by Criticks in this cenſorious Age. And that, where nothing elſe can be objected,* Varro's *Three Differences of Time muſt ſerve the turn. We ſhall be told, How the* Firſt, *having been That which extended from the Creation to the Flood, is call'd* Obſcure *and* uncertain: *becauſe we are wholly ignorant of all things happen'd in it. The* Second, *which was That from the Flood to the firſt* Olympiad, *is termed Fabulous: by reaſon of a world of Fables reported thereof. But the* Third, *extending from the ſaid* Olympiad *to our days, is called* Hiſtorical: *becauſe the Acts of it are delivered in Hiſtories that are true.*

And

And indeed, I muſt confeſs that ſo ſaid Varro *(the moſt learned of the* Romans 1700 *years ago) following herein the* Greeks; *and after him (of late) our Engliſh* Cambden, *who lays ſo much ſtreſs upon this obſervation of* Varro, *that* (page 17. Hol. Tranſlat.) *he makes it his only argument to ruin the credit of* Geoffrey of Monmouth's *new Hiſtory of* Brute. *But withal I do profeſs, that, for my own part, I ſee nothing in it that ſtreſſes. My reaſons are,* 1. *The ſayings of* Varro, *how learned ſoever he was, are no Oracles.* 2. *The Hiſtories of the Jewiſh Nation, at leaſt the Books of* Moſes, *and ſeveral more of the Old Teſtament Record a great variety of Matters hapned, ſome before the Flood, many more after it, both the one and the other with all certainty and truth imaginable; and yet all of 'em before the Firſt* Olympiad, *which according to* Cambden *himſelf was no earlier than the year of the World* 3189. *though others make it earlier by fifteen years.* 3. *And to wave all kind of advantages from thoſe holy Books which both Jews and Chriſtians repute infallible, as being the Oracles of God;* Joſephus *in his firſt Book againſt* Appion, *a Book written by him* 1600. *years ago, aſſures us, that even the Hiſtories of the* Phenicians, Egyptians, *and* Chaldeans *have recorded likewiſe with great truth and certainty the Reigns of their own Kings, and other memorable things happen'd in their Countreys many*

hundred

hundred years before the first Olympiad; yea not a few of them happen'd even long before either Moses or Abraham himself was born. 4. There have been several Books written for true History of matters that (as the Authors would make us believe) happen'd since the first Olympiad, nay written partly of some things reported in them to have happen'd fourteen hundred years after that Olympiad, which yet we know to be most faculous. Witness, among so many other, the foresaid Geoffrey of Monmouth's seven Books of History; to say nothing at all of Annius Viterbiensis.

But to return back to Josephus; it is also remarkable how (in the same Book against Appion) he wonders not a little at those who as to matters of Antiquity, suppose the truth ought only to be gather'd from the Greeks. Whereas indeed (says he) whatever is written by the Greeks, is new, and of late memory, and has been done in the World in a manner but yesterday. And this he proves in the same place at large. Besides he shews, that albeit their knowledg or practice not only of other Arts and Sciences, but of any kind of Letters had been very late, yet the latest of all among 'em was that of History. That herein, even after they had given themselves industriously to it, they were notwithstanding very imperfect, uncertain, short: their chiefest Authors contradicting one another in what they wrote: (as knowing

ing there were no ancient Records, not even in Athens it ſelf, to check their falſity, nor Laws to curb their Liberty of writing what they pleas'd at random; and what they wrote, being ſo little as to other Countreys of the World, that of Rome it ſelf, though very powerful within Italy in thoſe times, and ſo near home, they ſeem'd for ſome Ages wholly ignorant. That even their moſt curious Writers, and among 'em Ephorus by name, were ſo ignorant of the Gauls and Spaniards, as to have thought the later a People denominated of one only City, and related the manners both of the one and the other to be ſuch, as neither are nor at any time were among either. Finally, that their knowledg of other Nations was a long time ſo extream little, as to have extended only to the bordering Thracians, and the Inhabitants of the Sea Coaſts, lying Eaſterly, and Weſterly, not far from Greece; all other Inland or untraffiquing, nay and all traffiquing too, ſo they were far remote Countreys, being utterly unknown to them.

Moreover, and more nearly to our preſent purpoſe, it is obſervable how ſo excellent, ſo unbyaſs'd a Writer, as Joſephus undoubtedly is, not only has in the ſame Book this very expreſſion, That he preſumes not for matter of Antiquity to compare his own Jewiſh Nation with the Chaldeans, Egyptians, or Phœnicians; but, for certainty and truth, highly celebrates

brates in particular, the Phenician Hiſtorian Dius, and the Chaldean Beroſus. And yet we know from him, that as well the one as the other of theſe two Writers has treated of the Affairs of that ſecond Difference of Time in Varro, eſpecially Beroſus. He tells us that Beroſus, both mentioned the Flood, and Ark, and reſting of this on the Mountains of Armenia, and continued the ſeries of his Narration downwards all along from the firſt of Kings after the Deluge, even from Noah himſelf, that is, for the whole extent of that very Second period or Difference of Time. Whence it muſt follow, that however this Time might well and juſtly be reputed fabulous by the Greeks in relation to themſelves and their own Hiſtorians; yet their ignorance ought to be no rule to conclude other Nations that, like to thoſe ancient Egyptians, Phœnicians, and his Chaldeans in Joſeph, were from the beginning careful to preſerve their Antiquities, i. e. their Genealogies, Adventures, Changes, Kings, Wars, and other Memorable Deeds, in publick Regiſters on Record for Poſterity. Such are at preſent the Chineſes in the utmoſt limit of the old World in Aſia towards the Riſing Sun: as the Hiſtory of Martinus a Martinis abundantly ſheweth. And that ſuch alſo in the fartheſt Land of Europe, towards the Setting Sun, the ancient Iriſh have been while their State continued till about five hundred years ſince, may be ſufficiently evinc'd by many arguments. Among which are

thoſe

those which you may briefly read in this Prospect, Former Part, Sect. II. page 46, 47, *and* 48. *whereunto it will not be amiss to add what both* Cambrensis *and* Neubrigensis *do confess, that even from the beginning the* Irish *Nation has ever continued free from any forein Yoak or Conquest till* Henry *the* Second *of* England's *time. That is, according to* Cambrensis, *has continued so, even for so long an extent of time as the successive Reigns of a hundred eighty one Monarchs of their own Countrey and extraction from the same stock had certainly taken up. And therefore it must be also confess'd, That so long at least, they were in a capacity to preserve their own Records. And so indeed they did preserve the chiefest of 'em safe, even amidst the greatest fury of the two* Danish *Wars. Neither of which, how destructive, calamitous and heavy soever, especially the Former was, arrived to the nature of an absolute or total Conquest of the Natives, not even for one week or day.*

All which consider'd by indifferent men, I hope may be enough to remove out of their way all prejudgment of Criticks, from the foresaid observation of Varro, *against those remote Antiquities of the* Irish *Nation, which you shall meet with in the* Former Part *of this* Prospect.

What or who were the Authors I have followed, it will be but reasonable I should inform you next. And I think it as reasonable to tell you,

That although I have read whatever Cambrenſis, *or* Campion, *or* Hanmer, *or* Spencer *wrote of* Ireland: *yet in the whole* Former Part *of this* Proſpect, *I have not borrow'd from any one or more of them above one Paragraph of a few lines: unleſs peradventure you account thoſe other to be ſuch, (i.e. borrowed from them) which animadvert upon ſome few of their many Errours. Nor certainly would I have ventur'd on writing ſo much as one Line of the State of that Kingdom before the* Engliſh Conqueſt, *if I had not been acquainted with other kind of Authors, yea Authors not only more knowing, but incomparably better qualified to know the ancient Monuments of that Kingdom, than they or any other Foreigners that hitherto have gather'd, written, printed ſome hear-ſay ſcraps of that Nation, could poſſibly be. In ſhort, when I was a young man I had read* Geoffrey Keting's *Iriſh Manuſcript Hiſtory of* Ireland. *And now when my Lord of* Caſtle-haven *would needs engage me to write ſomething, as you have ſeen before: I remembred how about four or five years ſince, the* R. H. *Earl of* Angleſey, *Lord* Privy Seal, *had been pleas'd to ſhew me another Manuſcript, being an* Engliſh *Tranſlation of that Iriſh Hiſtory of* Ketings. *Beſides I remember'd to have ſeen and read* Gratianus Lucius, *when he came out in print ſome twenty years ago. And becauſe I was ſure to meet in the Former, materials enough*

nough for such Discourses upon the more Ancient Irish, *or State of their Countrey before the* English Conquest, *as were to my purpose: and that the Later too might be very useful in some particulars: having borrow'd* Keting *first,* (i. e. *that* English Manuscript Translation *of him, such as it is, from my Lord* Privy Seal) *I ventur'd to begin somewhat, in the method you have here, on so Noble and Illustrious a Subject. Though, I must confess, I am still the more unsatisfied, that while I was drawing these Papers you have now before you, I could by no means procure the Reading either of Primat Usher's* Primordia Ecclesiarum Britannicarum, *or Sir James Ware's* Antiquities of Ireland. *However, seeing I have expos'd my self to censure, as relying wholly on the ability and sincerity of* Keting *and* Lucius *in the performance of their several undertakings: I have the more reason to give here this following true account of them.*

Geoffrey Keting *was a Native of* Ireland *in the* Province *of* Mounster, *as were his Ancestours before him for many Generations, though not of* Irish *but* English *blood originally. He was by Education, Study, Commencement abroad in* France, *a Doctor of Divinity; in his Religion, a* Romanist; *by Ordination and Calling, a Secular Priest. He had by his former study at home in his younger days, under the best Masters of the* Irish *Tongue and the most*

skilful in their Antiquities, arriv'd to a high degree of knowledg in both. In his riper years, when return'd back from his other Studies and Travails in Forein Parts, his curiosity and genius led him to examin all Foreign Authors, both Ancient and Modern, who had written of that Kingdom either purposely or occasionally, whether in Latin *or in* English. *And this diligent search made him observe two things chiefly.* 1. *That every one, even the very best and most knowing of those Writers, were either extreamly out in many, if not most of their Relations concerning the State of that Countrey before the* English Conquest, *or rather indeed wholly ignorant of it. In so much, that like men groping in the dark, they related scarce any thing at all, well or ill, of what had pass'd among the Inhabitants of* Ireland *far above one and Thirty Hundred years. Except only what is by some of them reported of the Learning and Sanctimony of their Monks, during the first fervours of Christianity: and a very little more of their Wars at home in* Ireland *with the* Danes; *and even this very little involv'd in a mixture of Monstrous Fables, derived from such Romantick Stories, as were certainly written at first for meer diversion and pastime only.* 2. *That the generality of those* Brittish *Authors, who have written of that Countrey since the* English Conquest, *are against all Justice and Truth,*

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and Laws of Hiſtory, in the higheſt degree injurious to the ancient Natives. Theſe conſiderations improving by a fervent zeal for truth, and generous love to his Countrey, made Father Keting *undergo the laborious task of writing the* Hiſtory of Ireland *at large from the very firſt Plantation of it after the Deluge to* Hen. II's *time and* 17th *year of his Reign, being the year of Chriſt* 1152. *And this Hiſtory (beſides which there is no other full, compleat or methodical one extant of all the Ages, Invaſions, Conqueſts, Changes, Monarchs, Wars, and other conſiderable matters of that truly ancient Kingdom) be lived to finiſh in his old Age, that is, a little after* Charles I. *of glorious memory had been proclaimed King. Nor did he only finiſh it, but preſix unto it a very judicious, large and learned Preface to the Reader. It is in this Preface he declares thoſe two ſpecial motives of his writing, which you have ſeen already. Where alſo he declares who thoſe Authors are that gave him the occaſion, and refutes them one after another at large; namely,* Strabo, Solinus, Pomponius Mela, *S.* Hierom *againſt* Jovinian, Cambrenſis, Stanihurſt, Campion, Hanmer, Cambden, Hector Boethius, John Barclay, Moriſon, Davies, Buchanan. *All theſe in particular, as to ſome paſſages of theirs, he diſputes againſt in the ſame Preface with the cleareſt evidence of Authority,*

matter of Fact, and Reason grounded on both. As likewise he does in the Body of his Work against other passages not only of some of these same Authors, especially Cambrensis, Hector Boethius, *and* Buchanan, *but* Nicholas Sanders *too in his First Book* de Schismate Anglicano. *Besides in the same Preface he discourses five or six other Particulars, which I think worth the while not to pass over wholly in silence.*

The first is, That although in his History he has not seldom made use of some Collections out of Foreign Writers; yet the main Body of it all along is compos'd out of the most undoubtedly ancient and authentick Monuments of Ireland, *viz.* Psaltuir Ardemach, Psaltuir Chaillí, Psaltuir na Rann *(written by* Aonghuis Ceile De*) and then* Leabhar na Huacongmhala, Leabhar Ghluaino Hughmoch, Leabhar Fiontain *in Leix*, Leabhar Ghlinne-Da-Loch, Leabhar Breidhe Mholing, Leabhar Dubh Mholaige, Leabhar na Gceart *(written by S.* Benignus*) and* Ubhdir Chiarrain, *writ at* Cluain-inhac-Noise: *in all Thirteen Books. For you are to understand here not only that* Leabhar *signifies a Book, and* Psaltuir *(we call it* Psalter*) a Book in Verse; but, as he says, That from the beginning it was the custom of the* Irish *to have their Chief Antiquities done into the choicest, severest, strictest Me-*

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ter, without any redundance or want as to ſenſe and point of truth: and this as well for the more ſafe preſerving of them from corruption, as the more eaſie getting them by heart. And conſequently you ſee the true reaſon why their chief Records of Tarach, Caſhel, Ardmagh, *&c. are called* Pſalters. *But if you would further know the heads of theſe thirteen Books: he anſwers in the ſame place, They are theſe.* 1. *The ſeveral Invaſions and Conqueſts of* Ireland. 2. *The Diviſion of its Provinces and leſſer Countreys.* 3. *The Reigns of their Kings.* 4. *Their Annals.* 5. *Their Computations and Concordances of Times.* 6. *The Genealogy of their Male Gentry.* 7. *The Pedigree of their Females.* 8. *Their Vocabulary. Where alſo is a large account of the great School in the Plain of* Sennaar, *and three firſt Teachers of it, ſoon after the Confuſion of Tongues at* Nimrod's *Tower.* 9. *The Viſions of* Columb-Cille, *with ſundry other Antiquities of* Ireland.

The Second Particular gives in effect four Reaſons, or at leaſt one compos'd of ſo many Heads, to perſuade the credibility and truth of theſe Iriſh *Books. It tells us of above two hundred chief Chronologers together, from very early times, continuing a Succeſſion in the ſame Families and all Ages in that Nation while their Kingdom ſtood, whoſe peculiar and only Office it was to record faithfully all memo-*

rable Concerns. It tells us how these Antiquaries had sufficient Estates in Land entail'd on themselves and Issue for ever on that Condition. It tells us of the publick Schools they had purposely and continually kept for the Education of their Youth in the knowledg of their Antiquities: and how these Schools were kept in the Countrey of Breifthne, as they call in Irish That which now we call the County of Letrim. It tells us of a Triennial search into and Revision of all their Records by a select Committee in the Publick Assembly of all the Estates of that Kingdom. And lastly, it tells us of the Deposition of fair Copies of the same Records, in the hands of the Bishops from time to time ever since the Nation believed in Christ 1200 years since. Whereof you may see more at large in my 46. page following in this Former Part.

A third Particular answers the Objection of some discordance among the Irish Books, concerning the number of years from the Creation of the World to the Birth of our Saviour. It desires the Objectors to consider the far greater discordance * betwixt as well the Hebrews as the Greek and Latin Chronologers, each apart, on the same Subject. How, for Example, 1. among the Hebrews, Paul

* Because I was not sure that my Copy of Keting was right in every of the particulars or Discordances noted here, I consulted of purpose the most learn-

Paul Sedecholim *counts* 3518. *years*: *the* Talmudiſts, 3784. *the* New Rabbins, 3760. Rabbi Naaſſon, 3740. Rabbi Moſes Germidiſi, 4058. Joſephus, 4192. *Among the* Greek *Authors*, Metrodorus, 5000. Euſebius, 5199. Theophilus, 5476. *And among the Latins*, S. Hierom, 3941. *S.* Auguſtin, 5351. Iſidorus, 5270. Orolius, 5190. Beda, 3952. Alphonſus, 5984. *Now*, *ſays* Keting, *if ſo great a diſcordance on this very Subject impair not in other matters the credit of either* Greek, Hebrew, *or* Latin *Authors*: *why ſhould it the* Iriſh? *Where alſo he acquaints his Reader, that becauſe himſelf is of opinion, that ſuch* Iriſh *Antiquaries or Books as count for this Period from the Creation to the Incarnation* 4052. * *come neareſt the Truth, he follows them in his Hiſtory, or computation of times therein, either precedent or ſubſequent to the Birth of Chriſt. And farther, in the* 4052. *whether* Keting *had him for I know not; yet I know he might, came out in Print at* Francford, *an.* 1611. *ed* Sixtus Senenſis, *l.* 5. Bibl. S. (*pag.* 440. Imp. Colon. an 1626.) *whither I remit you to ſee many more diſcordances, that is,* Six *and* Twenty *in all, inſtead of theſe* 15 *here given by* Keting, *though moſt of theſe are among em.*

* *This is the Computation follow'd by* Auguſtinus Torniellius *in his* Annales Sacri ab Orbe Condito ad Chriſtum paſſum. *Sext. M. Ætat. ad an. his Maſter, though becauſe* Torniellius

ſame

ſome place, he acquaints us with his purpoſe to give at the end of his Hiſtory an Appendix, or a Table of Synchroniſm, *ſhewing what Monarchies, Monarchs, Great Kings of the World in other parts, and ſince Chriſtianity what Popes and general Councils were contemporary with the various Revolutions and Kings of* Ireland.

Whether he lived to finiſh this Table, I know not. But I remember to have ſeen, in ſtead thereof, two ſmall Tracts of his in Iriſh, *on another Subject, annexed to an* Iriſh *Copy of his Hiſtory: the one being a Defence of the* Maſs; *the other entitl'd in Iriſh,* The Three Shafts of Death.

An other Particular is That which tells how, and why, he thought it fitting, as to the number of years attributed to the ſeveral Reigns of ſome few of their Pagan Monarchs, eſpecially Sioma Saoghallach, *and* Cobhthach Caolbhreag, *to vary from their Book of Reigns where it's ſaid, That the later reign'd fifty years; but the former a hundred and fifty, and that beſides he was a hundred years old when he attain'd the Sovereignty, nor died naturally, but was murder'd after he had lived two hundred and fifty years in all.*

In the Fifth Particular, he ſpeaks only to thoſe who ſeem rather to admire than believe how it can be at leaſt probable, That other Pedegrees than thoſe in Holy Scripture ſhould be truly

ly

ly and in a perpetual Line without any interruption carried up along to Adam *and* Noah, *as the* Irish *Genealogical and Historical Books pretend to do for all their Kings, Princes, and great Nobles. To such admiring incredulous men he answers, That the* Irishry *or* Gathelian *Off-spring, even all along from the time of* Gathelus *himself (whose name gave these Descendants from him the general appellation of* Clanna Gaodhel*) till their arrival in* Ireland, *had with them a learned sort of men, call'd in their Language* Draoithe *(in ours* Druids *and* Magitians*) whose peculiar Office it was to write and preserve as well their Genealogies, as all other Memoirs concerning them or their Travails and Adventures whatsoever, good or bad. That the more famous Branch of those* Gathelians, *to wit the* Clanna Mileadh *or Descendants from* Miletius *the* Spaniard, *after they had conquer'd* Ireland *from the Nation call'd* Tuatha-De-Danann *thought fit to continue the same course, and accordingly did continue for the* 2500 *years of their Government and Laws, an uninterrupted numerous succession of Antiquaries for the same purpose, with large allowance and strict orders to regulate them; as has been said afore. That besides, and particularly to shew the like care among some other Nations for preserving the Genealogies of their great Heroes, he instances in the Pedegree of that excellent* Saxon *King* Alfredus, *and out of* Asser Menevensis *inserts it*

carried

carried up through all his Predeceſſours from Son to Father in a perpetual direct Line to Adam. To which Inſtance, alledg'd by Keting, I could my ſelf moſt certainly, though without Book, add another. For about five or ſix and forty years ſince, travelling in Brabant, and within a little Engliſh mile to Lovain, entring the Choire of the Celeſtin's Abbey there, I ſaw and for a pretty while did view a Table hung up on the Wall, which contain'd the Genealogy of the Illuſtrious Founders the Dukes of Arſcot, carried up in like manner through a vaſt number of Generations to the Firſt of all men. Which may be enough to perſuade us, that the old German Nation, how meanly ſoever for matter of civility or Learning, deſcrib'd by Tacitus, have been very careful in preſerving, at leaſt their Genealogical Antiquities. And indeed, if my memory fail me not, I remember to have read in Favins Theatre of Honour, much to this purpoſe; where he tells, It was from the Germans that all the reſt of Europe derived the cuſtom of giving Coats of Arms to ſhew the Noble Antiquity of their Extraction. Though withal I muſt confeſs, that Keting in the Reign of the Iriſh Monarch Domhnal mhac Aodh mhic Ainmhire, who died in the year of Chriſt 642. not only demonſtrates by a very ſpecial Inſtance, That cuſtom of blazoning Arms to have been among the Iriſh in this Monarchs Reign very common, but farther ſays, It had been ſo in all Ages before, among

their

their Anceſtours, ever ſince the days of Gathelus *himſelf, who deriv'd it from the* Iſraelites *at the time of their paſſing the Red Sea, when each of the Tribes had its own peculiar Enſign carried before. But to return to my purpoſe:*

The Sixth and Laſt of thoſe particulars (of Keting*'s Preface) I would acquaint you with, is That, being his whole Hiſtory for the matter, is only of the Ancient* Iriſh *Nation, if any Reader ſhall perhaps apprehend his Relations, or commendations or praiſes of them any where, or in any point, or as to any matter or Times, exceſſive: he deſires it be conſidered, That the Author is no* Iriſh *man by blood, but* Engliſh, *though born in* Ireland. *And therefore cannot rationally be ſuppos'd to magnifie the* Old Iriſh, *or ſpeak more excellent things of 'em, than the very force of Truth and duty of a Hiſtorian exacts from him. Beſides he had immediately before, in the ſame Place, declar'd, That neither love nor hatred of any People, nor hope of any kind of Reward on Earth, made him either go through with, or indeed at firſt undergo any part of the toil of ſo laborious a Work, but only thoſe other conſiderations given before. But what his reaſon was only to write it in* Iriſh; *I cannot tell. Unleſs it be, That he would not ſwerve from the cuſtom of that Nation, while they were a free People before the* Engliſh Conqueſt, *of tranſmitting the Authentick Records or publick Acts and Monuments of their Kingdom to*

after

after Ages in their own Language only. Which as I conceive, is the true reason why so little of them has ever yet been known elsewhere in the World. However you have by this time a sufficient account of Keting, *the Author I am mostly guided by in the whole* Former Part *of my* Prospect, *or (which is the same thing) in my Discourses of the State of* Ireland *till the beginning of the* English Conquest *in the year of Christ*, 1172.

I had almost forgotten to prevent your prejudice against Keting's *History, from his relating about the beginning of it, those three unlikely Stories.* 1. *How* Seth *the Son of* Adam, *and three daughters of* Cain *in a Company together landed in, and view'd all* Ireland *over.* 2. *How last year before the Deluge three Fishermen of* South-Spain, *by name* Laigne, Capa, *and* Luasad, *had been Wind-driven thither*, &c. 3. *How* Keasar, *the daughter of* Baioth *son to* Noah, *with three men, viz.* Fiontuin, Lothra, *and her said Father, and fifty Women, to save themselves from the Flood, which from* Noah *they had heard of as impending, after they had first by her advice renounc'd the God of* Noah, *taken to themselves an Idol God, which the* Irish *in their Language call* Laimbh Dhia, *and then wandred for seven years by Sea, at last arriv'd in* Ireland, *just forty days before the Flood, and there nevertheless perish'd by it. And indeed I must confess that* Keting *relates these Stories at large, with all their other circumstances.*

But

But how or why does he relate 'em? It is manifest he does it, of set purpose to explode 'em every one as incredible, and meer Poetical Fictions. For so himself expressly says. Adding withal, that such only and no other was the repute they had in the very days of Yore among the best Irish *Antiquaries. And for this he brings sufficient proofs, by alledging their own words.*

Gratianus Lucius *is the next Author I make frequent use of to lead me in several remote affairs of the more* Ancient Irish. *And he likewise an* Irish *man by birth; but of the Province of* Connaght, *and (as himself professes) by name and blood of* English *Extraction. His own proper name and surname,* John Lynch: *his Function, Sacerdotal, and of the Secular Clergy too. His employ besides at* Galway, *for some years in our own time, was Teaching a School of* Humanity, *(as they call it) wherein he was excellent. In the differences between the* Roman Catholic Confederates *in the late unhappy War of that Nation, he join'd with those of them that were against the* Nuncio Rinuccini's *Censures, for the Cessation with* Inchiquin, *submission to the King, and the* two Peaces. *After the surrender of* Galway *to the* English *Parliament Army he went to* France. *Where, employing his time as became a good Patriot & Loyal Subject, he wrote, printed and publish'd two* Latin *Books in* Quarto, *with a Dedicatory Epistle to the* Congregation of Cardinals de Propaganda

ganda Fide, *against a Factious disloyal Manuscript which one* Richard Ferral *an* Irish Capuccin, *had some years before written and presented to the same Congregation, as a Direction for them in their government of the Church affairs of* Ireland: *the former entitled* Alithinologia; *the Later,* Supplementum Alithinologiæ. *Some years after, that is* an. 1662. *he publish'd under the name of* Gratianus Lucius *an other* Latin *Work in Folio, intitled* Cambrensis Eversus, *as being a full confutation of the Author that goes by the name of* Cambrensis.

Who this Cambrensis, *and what the Quarrel was, to let you know, if I digress a little, it may peradventure be worth the while. His proper name and surname in* English *being* Gerald Barry, *that Additional of* Cambrensis *he had from his native Countrey, in Latin* Cambria, *in English* Wales. *His education of a Scholar, profession of a Divine, Function of a Priest, and (as I must suppose) merits in all brought him in time to be not only Arch-deacon of S.* Davids, *but Tutor to the young Earl of* Mortaign *Fifth Son to* Henry II. *Under which Qualifications, first his zeal for the old Archiepiscopal privileges of that See engag'd him in a long Contest with the See of* Canterbury, *and then his Election to the same See of S.* Davids, *involv'd him in another. In so much, that however he came to be worsted in both (for so he was) yet his name has ever since remain'd on Record*

cord in the Papal Canons. His extraction made him Nephew to Robert fitz-Stephens *and* Maurice fitz Gerald, *Cousin to* Meylerus, *and Brother to* Philip Barry *and* Robert Barry, *five of the first chief men that adventured to* Ireland *of purpose to advance their own fortune by helping on the Restauration of* Diarmuid na Ngall *King of* Leinster. *His own Genius once, and once more his Place carried him to* Ireland. *For twice he was there: first to see his kinsmen daily acquiring large possessions by their valour: and next to wait on his young Prince Earl* John, *when created Lord of* Ireland, *and sent thither by the King. And now, as himself confesses, being desirous of glory and immortal fame by describing* Ireland, *and informing the World not only of what he knew of the State of that Kingdom then under the* English *Conquerors, but of all former Conquests, and State thereof from the beginning, he wrote to this purpose five Books in* Latin. *The first three of 'em under the Title of* The Topography of Ireland, *and the other two under that of* The Conquest of Ireland *by* Henry II. *Indeed more specious Titles both, than his Relations under them do so much as meanly answer. Besides, that the Title at least of* Topography *must be very strangely applyed to signifie the* Description *of a whole Kingdom. And yet notwithstanding, This, together with the History of all former Conquests and other Antiquities of* Ireland, *is that which he promises to give under the same*

Title: That he has very ill perform'd, that he has given his Readers nothing less than such a History or such a Description, we must not wonder. He neither could understand the Language, nor so much as read the Books whether of History or Chorography written at large by the Natives themselves in their own Character. He saw not in any manner, nor travel'd, nor view'd e'en at a distance, above one Third of the Kingdom, nor dar'd for his Life venture into either of the other two parts. His whole stay in Ireland, being the whole extent of Time employ'd by him in gathering materials for his intended Work, was but a year and a half; besides an other half years task, which he had left to his Companion Bertram Verdon, who therefore stay'd so long behind him. His Collections, at least for such part of 'em as any way pertinently related to his foresaid promise, or Titles, were certainly extream little; but the rest of them, no less extream bad, and commonly false to boot. They were so little, that he describes not so much as one County, or Tract, or Town, no not of that very third Part of the Kingdom which he might have seen. Unless peradventure you take for a Description of all Ireland, his Fabulous Narrations of four Wells, three Islands, three Lakes, the Fountain head of four great Rivers, and the Fall of the greatest of them all, by name the River of Shannon, into the Northern Sea. The it be well known, That as all these Narrations are such, i. e. meer Fables: so the one moiety of these Lakes, Wells, Islands, besides the Head-spring of Shannon,

non, *are within thoſe other parts of* Ireland, *which he never ſaw nor durſt enter.*

As for the Hiſtory of the former Inhabitants, Conqueſts, and other Antiquities of that Kingdom, promiſed by him, it is in like manner not only ſo imperfect, but ſo little in all reſpects: That 1. *he has not the leaſt mention of* Tuatha-De-Danaînn, *though a powerful People that by a bloody War entirely won it from* Feara-Bolg, *and were poſſeſſors of it for a hundred ninty ſeven Years under the ſucceſſive Reigns of ſeven (or rather indeed Nine) Kings of their own: that is, until they alſo in their turn were conquer'd by the* Clanna Mileadh *about Thirteen hundred years before the Birth of Chriſt.* 2. *Of thoſe* Clanna Mileadh *or Deſcendents from* Mileſius, *though they were the People that continued the Poſſeſſion and Government of* Ireland *ever ſince, about 2500 years, to this very Authors days; yet all the account he gives is only in ſhort, that they had a hundred eighty one Monarchs, ruling ſucceſſively over that Kingdom; but not a word more of their Hiſtory, Polity, Laws, Conqueſts abroad,* Militia, *or Wars at home; nay, not ſo much as a bare Catalogue of thoſe very Monarchs; for he names only the firſt and laſt of them, being* Feidlimidius, *whom he miſtakes for one more, was not King of* Ireland, *but of* Mounſter *only. So little he has of the very* Mileſians, *or their Antiquities or Actions. Except only,* 1. *A few words of the ſix Sons of* Mutedus, *Provincial King of* Ulſter, *entring* Scotland. 2. *A ſlender*

touch upon the Daniſh Invaſions of Ireland. In which notwithſtanding, he is mightily out, both as to the Year of Chriſt he fixes on for the firſt of thoſe Invaſions, viz. 838. and as to the name, perſon, feats, yea and Nation too of Gurmundus, all being meer Fictions, borrow'd moſtly from Galfridus Monumethenſis. However, with ſuch, and many more idle ſtories in other matters not only impertinent to the Title of his Books, or diſcharge of his Promiſe, nor only not had from any Records or Writings whatſoever, as neither from the oral Teſtimony of men of knowledg or integrity, but wholly deriv'd from old Wive's Tales, and paſtime of Ferry-men, and random reports of Soldiers, and impoſture of ſome Knaves who fain'd things of purpoſe to impoſe on his vain credulity: and beſides, with moſt vile reflections, Invectives, Satyrs almoſt every where againſt the Iriſh Nation of his own time, their Princes, Prieſts and People generally, without ſparing any degree, not even the very Monks, nor even the very Biſhops excepted, he patch'd up & finiſh'd at laſt, after five years ſtudy, all his foreſaid five Books of Ireland: prefixing Dedicatories of ſome to the King, as of other of 'em to Richard Earl of Poictou, who ſoon after was Richard I. of England

And now, putting an extraordinary value on theſe Works of his own, and no longer able to conceal his ambitious deſign of glory by 'em, he goes to Oxford: renews the ancient Roman Rehearſals there, in the moſt publick Audience could be had:

continues

continues 'em three days together, from morning till night; allowing a day for each of his Topographical Books. And to make his Comedy the more solemn, feasts all the meaner sort of that whole City, on the first day: on the second all the Doctors, Masters and chief Scholars of the University: on the third day, the rest of the Scholars, the Soldiers too and all the Burgesses of that Place. A sumptuous and noble act, *says* Gerald *himself glorying of it*, whereby the ancient Custom of Poets was renewed, which neither the present Age, nor any former could shew in England. *But after all, he came short of his expectation of glory. His little performance, and great ignorance, his many Fables and evil choice of other materials too, yea and his mortal enmity, hatred, malevolence to the* Irish *Nation were seen through, especially at Court; where, as himself complains, he had too many back Friends to malign him. Above all, his Satyrs and spleen against the very name of the* Irish *las'd him open. Nor were the true causes thereof unknown. Besides the common concern he had in the destruction of that People for the sake of his Kinsmen, there was another more peculiar to himself that continually egg'd him to the greatest violence against them. He had even for his own sake very deeply engag'd in a particular controversie with* Albinus O Molloy *a* Cistercian Irish *Monk and Abbot of* Baltinglass, *wherein he was worsted. Whether any other causes mov'd him, I do not know.*

But this I know, that in his Second Book of the Conquest of Ireland, *he desir'd*, that whole Nation might either be throughly weakned, or totally destroy'd; *yea notwithstanding the Peace but lately concluded, and still observ'd by them. And that besides, in the same Book*, cap. 36. *he prescrib'd the ways to do it. I see also that on every occasion as he is perpetually in the greatest extreams even of Romantic praises of his own Relatives*, Fitz Stephens, Fitz Gerald, Meyler, *the two* Barrys, *and all their* Brittish *Soldiers too, his own Countrey-men: so, of the other side, upon the least pique he is no less passionately excessive in charging with and exaggerating the vilest things against the very* Normans *and* English *in* Ireland, *tho imbarqu'd in the save public quarrel with them against the* Irish *Nation. Witness, among others*, Herveus de Monte Marisco, *and* William Fitz Adelm *the King's Lieutenant, and Progenitor of the noble Family of* Bourks *in that Kingdom. Nay witness the King himself* Henry II. *Whom altho, during his Life, this Author made the* Occidental Alexander, *the* Invincible, *the* Salomon *of his own Time, the* most Pious *of Princes, and his only Fame (tho far short of his Merits) to have repress'd the fury of all the very* Gentils *of* Europe, *and* Asia *too beyond the Mediterranean Sea: adding many more Hyperbolical expressions to magnifie him above all truth and reason; as for example, That his Victories extend with the Circumference of the Earth;*

and

and That if you ſeek after the Limits of his Conqueſts you ſhall ſooner come to the end of the World than of them: yet after this Great Prince's death (as David Powel *very particularly obſerves) he, the ſame Author* Gerald *of* Wales, *moſt bitterly invey'd againſt him, in his Book* de Inſtructione Principis; *where he ſo belched forth the venom of his malevolence, that he manifeſtly diſcover'd his old inveterate hatred of this King* Henry. *So ſays* Powell. *Moreover, and in reference particularly to his ſtories of* Ireland, *you may find in Primat* Ushers Sylloge (pag. 155.) *how the expoſtulations of other men and evidence of Truth compell'd him at laſt to ſeveral Retractations: among which he confeſſes, that altho he had ſome of his Relations from perſons of credit in that Countrey; yet for the reſt he had only common report and fame. Which if I be not miſtaken is in effect to acknowledg, that he had common Lyes, and Forgeries to authorize them. Nay further, You may read Sir* James Wares *Cenſure of them in his own* Antiquities of Ireland *cap.* 23. *where in expreſs terms he ſays in* Latin, *That* Gerald of Wales in his Topography of Ireland has heap'd together ſo many Fabulous Relations, that to diſcuſs them exactly would require a juſt Treatiſe. *And then adds, in the ſame place, his own* wonder, How it ſhould come to paſs, that ſome of this very Age, tho otherwiſe grave and learned men, have again for Truths obtruded on the World thoſe Fictions of Gi-

xald. *Beſides, You are to know, that notwithſtanding ſo many juſt exceptions againſt thoſe Books of* Cambrenſis: *yea notwithſtanding they had therefore lyen after his death 400 years neglected, obſcure, unknown, till* Cambden *had them printed at* Francford *an.* 1602. *yet ever ſince that year, they have proved the only chief warrant to all ſuch men of little reading as were delighted in writing ill of the ancient* Iriſh. *To conclude; what I would ſay on the whole is, That if hatred, enmity, open profeſſed hoſtility, and ſpecial intereſt and actual engagement too in the deſtruction of that ancient* Iriſh *Nation: if ignorance of their Language, and wilful paſſing by their Hiſtory, even the moſt authentick of their Records: if no knowledg at leaſt of two Thirds of their Countrey: if hunting, collecting, and hudling together the vaineſt and falſeſt and moſt ridiculous hear-ſay ſtories, and this forſooth of purpoſe to gain immortal fame by telling ſtupendious things not heard before: if Satyrs of the people in general, ſo virulent and frequent, that in very deed the publiſhing of 'em may be juſtly ſuſpected to have been at leaſt a great part of the Authors chief deſign: if a licentious humour and immoderate paſſion tranſporting him to the ſtrangeſt exorbitancy either of praiſes or diſpraiſes, or flatteries or injuries, as he ſtood affected, in writing even of his own Party, and his own King for company among 'em: if his acknowledgment in* Uſher, *and the Cenſure of him by Sir* James Ware: *in a word, if ſo ma-*

ny

ny excellent Qualifications as are enumerated here, can render him an Author of Credit, or to be follow'd or believ'd in any paſſage of his foreſaid Books that is to any degree of prejudice either againſt the Iriſh *Nation, or contrary to their Chronicles, or vain or exotick in it ſelf, and not warranted by better authority than his only word: I ſay, that if the matter be ſo indeed, then for my own part I muſt be of opinion, that no Author at all, how idle, or vain, or unwarrantable, or incredible, or falſe, or injurious, reproachful and ſatyrical ſoever his Relations of any People or Countrey are, is to be rejected. Tho in all contingencies, it muſt be alſo confeſs'd, that wherever* Cambrenſis *has delivered any thing to the advantage, renown, or credit of the* Iriſh *Nation, his teſtimony is doubtleſs above all exception for ſo much. For the confeſſion of an Adverſary is valid in all Tribunals: and both* Bodin *and Reaſon requires it ſhould be ſo in Hiſtory.*

Thus having ſufficiently inform'd you both of Cambrenſis *and the true original grounds of the Quarrel of* Gratianus Lucius *to him: I return to the finiſhing my account of* Lucius *himſelf. And this I ſhall diſpatch by a little farther addition, firſt of thoſe more ſpecial conſiderations that put him on writing his* Cambrenſis Everſus, *and then of his performance therein. Thoſe himſelf gives at large, but I ſhall contract 'em. 1. He had often conſider'd, that altho ſoon after the coming out of* Cambrenſis *in* Germany *from the Preſs, two*

Learned

Learned Iriſh *Gentlemen*, Richard White *a Jeſuit, and* Philip O Suillevan *a Soldier, to undeceive the World, and right their injur'd Nation, had moſt exactly and convincingly written, each of them at large, againſt his impoſtures; yet through ill fortune their ſeveral Books on that ſubject were loſt, and no body ſince had put Pen to paper to retrive this loſs.* 2. *By daily converſation among Foreigners, he had found, That becauſe in ſo many years ſince that* Francford *Edition of* Cambrenſis, *nothing appear'd againſt him in Print, his very vileſt Relations of* Ireland *were taken for confeſſedly true.* 3. *Having read a great number of Books, and he thinks all whatſoever written of that Kingdom by* Engliſh *&* other Brittiſh *Authors; and obſerving how as many of 'em at leaſt as came out ſince the change of Religion, were ſo unjuſt to the* Iriſh *Nation, that amongſt all there was not ſo much as any one Individual, who does not either report Fictions, or conceal Truths, or exaggerate the bad, or extenuate the good Things of that People: he conſidered at laſt, that* Giraldus Cambrenſis *was their firſt pattern.* 4. *And which to him was more grievous yet, he conſidered, that ever ſince the aforeſaid* German *Edition, there was not a Book written, nor a* Coſmographical *or* Geographical *Table drawn, there was not (I mean) a Map, or a Card (as they are call'd) deſcribing the cuſtoms or manners of Nations come forth in any part of* Europe, *which was not repleniſh'd with ugly baſe reflections on the* Iriſh. *In ſo much, that*

in

in all Countreys and Languages they were on all occasions become a Fable to the Vulgar, and object of scorn to others.

These were the considerations that prevail'd with Lucius *to exert his zeal for Truth and Love to his Countrey, in taking all the foresaid Books of* Cambrensis *to pieces; laying open the most material of his Errors and Calumnies; (for it had been endless to pursue him in the more immaterial) convincing him every where, and therefore, when he had finish'd his Work, publishing it for the satisfaction of* Europe *in* Latin, *under the Title of* Cambrensis Eversus, *which may be English'd The* Cambrian overthrown. *How justly it deserves this name, others may judg, seeing the Book is extant, and has been since the year* 1622. *when it was printed. For my own part, I can do no less than acknowledg what I think of it my self: which is, That the Author shews himself very conversant in those Letters we call* Polite. *That above all, for knowledg in History both Domestic & Forein, Sacred and Profane, he appears excellently well qualified to write on the Subject he undertook. That every where, and whatever matter is treated, he is very exact in quoting his Authors: and where the allegation must depend on* Irish *Books or Writers, he never omits to give 'em by name in the Margin: among which are the* Annals of Inis Fail, *the* Common Annals, *the* Annals of Anonimus, the Annals of Tigernacus, *the* Continuer of Tigernacus, *the* Books of Reigns, O Duuegan,

O Donel, Colgan, Philip O Suillevan, Peter Lombard Archb. of Ardmagh, Keting, Primat Uſher, *Sir* James Ware. *That in a word, his performances in this Book againſt* Cambrenſis *are accurate, abſolute, full: and therefore not unworthy the Dedication they bear prefix'd to the Sacred Majeſty of* Charles II. *of* Great Brittain *our gracious King. I ſay* againſt Cambrenſis. *Becauſe I do abſtract wholly from his occaſional or incidental Reflections any where on the State of* Ireland *ſince the Year* 1640. *To deliver my thoughts of them, is no part of my buſineſs here. What more, concerning* Lucius, *muſt be directly to the purpoſe of this place, is to let you underſtand, that although* Cambrenſis Everſus *be not a Hiſtory of* Ireland: *yet becauſe it is in many places fraught with choice Collections out of the* Iriſh *Antiquities: and in the* VIII. *Chapter occaſionally gives, together with a Catalogue of all the Monarchs of* Ireland *under the ſeveral Conqueſts, even from* Slanius *the firſt of them, a brief account of their Reigns, and Years of the World, or Chriſt reſpectively, when each King began & finiſh'd his Reign: therefore, next to* Keting, *I have made the greateſt uſe of him, in the* Former Part; *tho no where before,* page 130. *for till I came ſo far I had him not. And out of him particularly it is, That in ſome places I add to ſuch or ſuch Monarchs the Year of the World, or of our Saviour Chriſt's Incarnation. Now what Computation is follow'd by him, in giving the former Years, I mean thoſe of*

the World, albeit he does not himself expressly inform us, we may notwithstanding most certainly know by his fixing the Birth of Christ in the Year of the World 5199. *as he does in his Reign of the* Irish *Monarch* Criomthan Niadhnair (*whom he calls in Latin* Criomthanius Niadhnarius.) *Whereby 'tis evident, he follows the computation of* Eusebius; *holding therein with the generality of the* Irish *Chronologers, and consequently differing in so much from* Keting: *as he does also differ from him, and hold with the same generality, as to the length of Reign or Life attributed to the two Monarchs* Cobhthach Caolbhreag, Siorna Saoghallach, *& some others. In other matters treated by him in his* Cambrensis Eversus, *he seldom varies from* Keting, *otherwise than by addition of more particulars. So you have at last my whole Account, and I hope a sufficient one of these two Authors, whom I must acknowledg to have been my only* chief *Directors, for what concerns those* Irish *Affairs, treated of in the* Former Part *of this* Prospect. *I say* my only chief Directors, *&c. For,*

I am to inform you now a little farther, That as to other matters, and some Irish *too, whether purposely or occasionally discours'd, I have not seldom in the same* Former Part, *especially in the* V. *and* VI. *Section, made use of my own reading and Collections out of other Authors, some Ancient, & some Modern. As for example, out of* Tacitus, *and the* Augustan *History Writers, and Venerable* Bede, *&* Cam-

Cambrensis, *and* Polychronicon, *I have borrow'd some things: out of* Roderic *of* Toledo, *and* Polidore Virgil, Harpsfield, Bodin, William Camden, *and* Buchanan, *other: out of S.* Bernard, *the far greater part of my whole discourse of* Malachias: *out of a* French *Anonimous Author in* Messingham, *and Sir* James Ware's *Book* de Præsulibus Hiberniæ, *what I write of* Laurase O'Tuathail, *otherwise called (in* Latin) Laurentius Dublinensis: *out of* Rabanus, Jonas Abbas, Odericus Vitalis Angligena, Notkerus *and* Spondanus, *those matters you find related by me of* Columbanus, Gallus, *and their Associats: besides divers other things out of other Authors. And these and those are commonly quoted where I make use of them: although sometimes they are not, because both Margins being so narrow, and Pages so little, as you see they are, I thought it unfitting to crowd them with quotations.*

From the Learned Cambden *I seldom recede, tho almost as seldom made use of by me in the same* Former Part. *But the acknowledg'd either purity, or elegancy of* Buchanan's *style makes me no admirer of his skill in the Antiquities of that Nation he writes of. Much less can I esteem* Hector Boethius *in his writing at random of those matters what he had never had but from errant Impostors, or certainly himself had forg'd. And this (without question) even contrary to what he had found written by that* Irish *great Furtherer of his, whose name was* Corneli-

us

us Historicus, *and his Work entitled* Chronicon multarum rerum; *I mean, if this* Cornelius *was indeed no less by education in the Countrey, & knowledg in the Language than by birth an* Irish *man, and withal so learned as* D. Hanmer, *page* 193. (*out of* Bale *and* Stanihurst) *represents him to have been under* Henry III. *of* England, *about the Year of Christ* 1230. *that is, about* 200 *years before* Boethius *had written his History of* Scotland.

Of Hanmer, *or* Campion *either (though each of them entitles his own Work,* The History of Ireland: *nay each of 'em ventures on deducing his Narration from almost the very beginning of times after the Flood.) I scarce make mention, but, once or twice where the Subject or leads or forces me to oppose their great mistakes. Which certainly are very numerous in both, especially in* Hanmers *Work, as this is by much the larger of the two;* Campion's *being only a little extemporary Piece, written by him in ten Weeks time, as himself confesses in his Dedication thereof* * *to* Robert *Earl of* Leicester. *Nor must we much wonder, it should be either so brief, or so faulty: seeing we have his own farther acknowledgment in his Preface to the* Reader, *That he had never so*

* 27 May 1571. *To this year* Campion *brought his* History. *But* Hanmer *deduc'd his* Chronicle (*for so he calls it*) *no further than to the year* 1286. *I suppose he intended to bring it to his own time, had he not been prevented by death, which seiz'd him at* Dublin, *where he died of the Plague,* Anno 1064.

much

much as seen any of those Irish Books that treat of matters that happen'd before the English Conquest, much less could have any person to interpret them. A greater cause of admiration, Doctor Meredith Hanmer has given us by making his Chronicle of Ireland so large, and yet giving every whit as little of the true Antiquities of Ireland for those times preceding the same English Conquest as Campion before him had, e'en a few scraps out of Cambrensis; but many more additional meer stories from himself, where-ever he had 'em. Among which stories however, I do not rank his pious Relations of several Irish Saints, which take up above 20 leaves of his Chronicle. That is, from p. 33. to p. 104.

But for Edmund Spencer, in his Dialogue between Irenæus and Eudoxus (bound up in the same Volume, as it was at first publish'd in print together with the two former Books of Campion and Hanmer at Dublin, an. 1633. by Sir James Ware,) I had so little occasion to quote him, as I could have no other exception against him, than what is common to Hanmer and Campion too. Save only those two Particulars (in his 33 & 46 Pag.) whereof Kering has taken special notice before me, viz. 1. The two Saxon Kings, Egfrid the Northumbrian, and Edgar of England, to have had the Kingdom of Ireland in subjection. . That the large spread Irish Families or Septs of the Birns, Tools, and Cauanaghs in the Province of Leinster, were originally Brittish; and those other of the

Mac

Mac Swines, Mac Mahoons, *and* Mac Shehies *in the Province of* Mounſter *no leſs originally* Engliſh. *In both Particulars how mightily* Spencer *is out, and without any ſupport either from Hiſtory or Criticiſm,* Keting *in his Preface, has very ſufficiently, if not abundantly ſhewn. And therefore I will ſay no more of* Spencer, *than that although in writing his* Faerie *Queen he had the right of a Poet to fancy any thing; nevertheleſs, in the Hiſtorical part of his Dialogue (written by him,* anno 1599.*) he ſhould have follow'd other Rules. I ſay* Hiſtorical part, *&c. For I am willing to acknowledg, that where he purſued the* Political *main deſign of this Dialogue, which was to preſcribe the ways and means to reduce* Ireland *(a deſign well becoming him as being Secretary to* Arthur *Lord* Grey *of* Wilton *and Deputy of* Ireland *under Q.* Elizabeth) *none could ſurpaſs him: no man could except againſt him, ſave only thoſe that would not be reduc'd. But I digreſs again. For my purpoſe here in mentioning* Spencer, *ſhould only have been to tell you, that in all my* Former Part *I quote him but once. Unto which if I add in the laſt place, what I had almoſt forgotten, That I have more than once or twice either, quoted* Geoffrey *of* Monmouth *himſelf: I hope no man will be ſcandalized that conſiders, beſides the occaſion, what uſe I make of him. Nay I do perſuade my ſelf, That to ſee* in five or ſix leaves of this little* Form, *a pretty*

* Former Part *from page* 35. *to pag.* 347. *And again* p. 363, 364, 369. *juſt*

just *Abridgment of his famed Work*, i.e. *his Seven Books of the ancient History of* Great Brittain, *or supposed Posterity of* Brutus, *cannot be displeasing to those who never saw nor knew where to find the Author himself, or his History at large, nor perhaps, were it lying by them, and in their own Language too, would have the patience to read it over.*

And now, That I have given what I would say (in this Place) concerning any of those other Authors, whom besides Keting *and* Lucius, *I either follow, or examine, or even utterly reject in the* Former Part *of my* Prospect: *there remains but little more to be Preface'd to it. For to the* Latter Part *I shall therefore prefix an other* Preface; *but one by so much the shorter, by how much it must be proper to that* Part *alone. In which other Preface I mean to observe the same Method I have in this; by giving an account of the Writers, who shall direct me in that* Later Part: *and how, and the reasons why I must therein be guided partly by some of those very men, whose testimonials in other matters, I slight in the* Former.

What more I would give for Preface here to the same Former Part *only, are these Particulars.* 1. *That wheresoever I annex to any of those* Irish *Monarchs, treated of by me, Capital or other Letters or Figures of Numbers, whereby I would signifie what rank they held in their Catalogue; for example, whether of the Tenth, or Twentieth, or so forth: there I related only to the Catalogue of* Mi-

lesian

lesian *Monarchs; not to any other containing both* Milesian, *and the other* 18. *Monarchs of the several Conquests that preceded theirs.* 2. *That although I have endeavoured with all diligence to extract in order those* Milesian *Monarchs out of* Ketings *voluminous History, which no where adds to any of 'em the number,* i.e. *any such Letters, Figures, or Words importing it: after all I cannot be sure I have not mistaken, and this perhaps more than once, in adding my numbers. But the best on't is, that the errour, if any such be, is not material.* 3. *That where I speak of* 2988 *years, or sometimes of a year, or a few years more or less from the first of the* Milesian *Conquest: in all such places I follow the Account of* Keting. *Who to reduce the* Irish *Chronology to an agreement not only with his own Computation of the years of the World, but with the Relation also of* Cambrensis *and* Polychronicon (*where they tell us, of the* Milesians *having conquer'd that Kingdom* 1800 *years before S.* Patric's *death*) *purposely cut off of the Reigns of several of their Kings, so many years as make in all* 491. *But elsewhere, that is,* p.496, &c. *and in the* Catalogue, *I have strictly follow'd* Gratianus Lucius (*and consequently the* Irish Book of Reigns) *as to the number of years the* Milesian *Kings reigned, or Kingdom lasted.* 4. *That for want of* Irish *Books or Antiquaries to consult with, I confess it remains a difficulty with me still, How the six Sons of the* Ulster *K.* Muredus, *as* Cambrensis *calls him in* Latin, *who in* Irish *is call'd* Muiridhach *by* Keting,

 even

even those very six famous Brothers that invaded Tuath-Chruthnigh *(for so the* Irish *by a proper name in their Language call'd the Countrey of the Picts, which now we call* Scotland.) *How I say those very six Brothers go sometimes by the name of the Six Sons of* Muiridhach, *and sometimes again by that of the Six Sons of* Eirck. *Unless peradventure the same person had those two names of* Muiridhach & Eirck: *or that* Keting *derived their being the Sons of* Muredus *from* Girald *of* Wales *only.* 5. *That if any where in these Discourses of* Ireland *you meet with some Relations either of Miracles above Nature, or Antiquities hard to believe: I must beg that you will notwithstanding be so just as at least to believe, I have no design to impose either upon your reason or upon your freedom.* 6. *That besides, it will be no more than Justice requires of you, to perswade your self, That no Relatour of matters so far beyond our ken is accountable for his own belief or disbelief of them, much less for their objective truth or untruth* (being *or not* being) *in themselves. Provided he related no impossibilities, nor absurdities, nor contradictions of all other Histories that are esteemed true, nor any thing whatsoever out of other Records than Authentick, or other Authors than Classick, or at least other than such as have been among their own People reputed men of Probity and Reason, and acknowledg'd so in such matters as they write of.* 7. *That I have commonly chosen to give the*

Irish

Irish *proper Names and Surnames, though not in* Irish *Characters, yet in such* Italick *Letters as answer them: because by having them so, the Reader may be much better assured, that he sees before him the true genuine names, whether he can pronounce them rightly, or not, than he could be, if according to the custom of others, I had transform'd 'em into the* English *or* Latin, *either syllables or terminations. And yet withal, my Copy of* Keting *being very bad in many places, and which I do willingly acknowledg my own skill to correct the* Irish *Orthography of it very small: I must in reason suspect my performance in this matter. But neither can the Errours herein be either material or any way considerable.* 8. *That I confess I have taken a quite contrary course to the late* Brittish *Writers, in magnifying, so far as good Authority did warrant me, the* Ancient Irish Nation: *which they, a man would think, made it their business to lessen and vilifie all they could. But nevertheless, I doubt not, all judicious impartial men will acknowledg, how much more it must redound to the honour of the* English Nation, *to have conquered an ancient, civil, warlike, brave People in the days of Yore, than such an obscure, barbarous, vile, hideous generation of men as partly the* Cambrian Author, *partly others that follow'd the pattern left by him represent those* Old *Inhabitants of* Ireland *in their time. Besides, if without any relation to others, but on the naked sole contemplation of some excellencies*

in that ancient People I have ſuffer'd ſome tranſport, who can blame me? None, I believe, that conſiders attentively the import and conſequence of this Saying of the Roman Sage, *though delivered by him on an other ſubject.* Some acts of Liberality, ſome of Humanity, ſome of Fortitude had aſtoniſh'd us: and we began to admire them as perfect. Under 'em lay many vices, which the appearance & ſplendor of ſome conſpicuous Fact did conceal: and theſe we diſſembled. Nature bids us magnifie deeds that are commendable. None but has extol'd the glorious beyond truth. *So ſaid* Lucius Annæus Seneca *(in his one Hundred and Twentieth Epiſtle) as rigid a* Stoick *as he was. And yet I can ſay for my ſelf this much, that I have been ſo far from diſſembling in any ſuch kind, where I had unqueſtionable Authors to lead me, that I rather fear to have exceeded on this ſide, than on that other.* 9. *That when I had almoſt finiſh'd this* Former Part, *I was unexpectedly deſir'd to print before it a Catalogue (tho containing only the bare Names) of all the Kings that in the ſucceſſion of ſo many Conqueſts, and many more Ages, for even 3204 years reign'd from* Slanius *the Son of* Dela *to the ſixth year of* Rotheric O Connor *the Laſt of the* Iriſh *Race, when* Hen. II. *of* England *was receiv'd Lord of* Ireland *in the year of Chriſt* 1172. *And though I had my ſelf no inclination to it, as apprehending, that ſince I have not given any kind of Hiſtory, great or ſmall, of all their Lives or Reigns,*

nor

nor indeed any particular account in any Method, Historical or not Historical, no not scarce of the Tenth among 'em: it would seem a vanity in me to promise more by the Frontispiece than the whole Structure is worth: yet after I was perswaded. So prevalent with me was the esteem I had of his judgment that urg'd it: altho he gave me no other reason, than that certainly it would prove at least some satisfaction to all curious Searchers into such remote patterns of Antiquity. And truly had he or any other given me this occasion before I had engag'd too far in pursuance of the Method taken by me all along: I would have given another kind of Catalogue. I mean such a one as, together with the Name of each King, should have had annex'd the years of his Reign, the means of his attaining the Sovereignty, the manner of his death, whether natural or violent, some one at least of his most remarkable Kingly Actions, if any such were recorded of him, the Year of the World or Christ respectively, answering both the first and last of his Reign: and all this of each in a small number of Lines: and the whole of all in seven or eight sheets, at most, or thereabouts. I am sure I might with far less trouble have done it, than the collecting, digesting, and discoursing on the matters handled in any one, at least in the sixth Section of this Former Part, *have given me.* Gratianus Lucius, *in his* Eighth Chapter, *would have eas'd me of other care in doing it, than that of rendring his Catalogue there into* English, *& in some few places*

abridging him, by referring the Reader to those pages of my own where I treat the matter at large, and in very few places more, by adding somewhat out of Keting, *and then animadverting on both* Keting *and him. But no easing me in that kind could hinder the unproportionable swelling of this* Former Part, *if I should annex to it such a Catalogue as this. And therefore in stead thereof I give that of bare Names, which take up but little room. Perhaps hereafter I may give the other too in a small Treatise bound together with the* Later Part. *I mean, if that* Later Part *can better than this here admit of such a conjunction, without rendring it self unproportionably thick. However that happen, there needs no further Preface now.*

A Ca-

A Catalogue of the Kings of *Ireland*;

Who,
(according to the *Irish Book* of *Reigns*, and Computation particularly of *Lucius*)
Reign'd
(in all) 3204 Years,
before *Henry* the II's landing there
Anno Christi 1172.

Kings
of the *Fir-bholgian*
Conquest,
Reigning
(in all) 36 Years.

1 *Slainghe.*
2 *Rughruigh.*
3 *Gann* and *Geannan*, two Brothers.
4 *Seanghann.*
5 *Fiacha* Cinn Fionnain.
6 *Rionnal.*
7 *Oidgben.*
8 *Eochodh.*

Kings
of the *Tuatha-De-Danann* Conquest,
Reigning
(in all) 197 Years.

1 *Nuadhad* Airgidlaimh.
2 *Breas.*
3 *Lugha* Lamhffhada.
4 *Andaghdha.*
5 *Dealbhaoith.*
6 *Fiacha* mhac Dealbhaoith.
7 *Eachtur*, *Tuachtur*, & *Ceathtur*, *surnamed* Mac Coill, Mac Ceacht, *and* Mac Greine, the three sons of Cearmada.

Kings
of the *Clanna Mileadh*

adh or Milesian Conq. Reigning (in all) 2971 Years.

1 *Eibhir* Fionn and *Erimhon*, two Sons of *Mileadh*, joyntly reigning.
2 *Erimhon*, singly.
3 *Muininne*, *Laigne*, and *Laigne*, three Son sof Erimhon.
4 *Iriall* Faidh.
5 *Ear*, *Orba*, *Fearon* and *Feargna*, Four Brothers, Sons to Eibhir Fionn.
6 *Etbriall*, mhac Iriall Faidh.
7 *Conmhael*.
8 *Tigbearnmhais*.
9 *Eochodh* I. Eadghathach.
10 *Ceasmna*, and *Sobairce*, two Brothers.
11 *Eothadh* II. Faobharghlas.
12 *Fiacha* I. Labhtamna.
13 *Eochodh* III. Mumho.
14 *Aongbus* I. Ollmhuicidh.
15 *Enma* I. Airgtheach.
16 *Roithecchuigh* I. mhac Maoin.
17 *Seadhna* I. mhac Artri.
18 *Fiacha* II. Fionscothach.
19 *Muinemhon*.
20 *Allergboid*.
21 *Ollamh* Fodhla.
22 *Finnbheachta* I.
23 *Slanoll*. (ach.
24 *Geitbe* Ollghothach.
25 *Fiacha* III.
26 *Bearnghall*.
27 *Oillioll* I.
28 *Sierna* Saoghalach.
29 *Roithecchtbuigh* II. mhac Roin.
30 *Elim* I. Ollfionshneachta.
31 *Giallchadh*.
32 *Art* I. Imleach.
33 *Nuadhad* II. Fionnfail.
34 *Breasrigh*.

35 *Eo-*

35 *Eochodh* IV. Apthach.
36 *Fionn* mhac Bratha.
37 *Sedhna* II. Innarrhuidh.
38 *Siomon* Breac.
39 *Duacha* I. Fionn.
40 *Muiriadhach* Bolgrach.
41 *Eunna* II. Dearg.
42 *Lughadh* I. Jarann.
43 *Siorlamha.*
44 *Eochodh* V. Vaircheas.
45 *Eochodh* VI. Fiadhmhaine, and *Conn* Begeaglach, 2 Bro.
46 *Lughadh* II. Lamhdhearg.
47 *Conn* Begeaglach, *the second time.*
48 *Art.* II. mhac Lughaidh.
49 *Fiacha* IV. Tolgrach.
50 *Oillioll* II. Fionn.
51 *Eochodh* VII. mhac Oilliolla.
52 *Airgiodmhair.*
53 *Duacha* II. Ladhghrach.
54 *Lughha* III. Laidhe.
55 *Aaodh* I. Ruadh.
56 *Dithorba.*
57 *Ciombaoth.*
58 *Macha*, the Queen.
59 *Reachta* Rithdhearg.
60 *Eoghan* Mor.
61 *Buchadh.*
62 *Laoghaire* I. Lorc.
63 *Cobhthach* Caolbhreag.
64 *Lauradh* Loinnseach.
65 *Meilge* Molbhthach.
66 *Modhchorh.*
67 *Aonghus* II. Ollamh.
68 *Jar* Ainghleo.
69 *Fearchorh.*
70 *Connla* I. Cruaidhcheallgach.
71 *Oillioll* III. Cassfhiaclach.
72 *Adhamhair* Foltchinn.

73 *Eochodh* VIII. Aitleathan.

74 *Ferghus* I. Fortabhaile.

75 *Aonghus* III. Tuirmhidh Teamhrach.

76 *Conall* I. Columhrach.

77 *Niadh* Seadhghamhaine.

78 *Eunna* II. Aignioch.

79 *Criomthann* I. Cosgrach.

80 *Rughruidh* I. mhac Sithrigh.

81 *Jodhnamhar.*

82 *Breassal.*

83 *Lughadh* IV. Luighnioch.

84 *Congbail* II. Clarigneach.

85 *Duach* III. Dallta Deaghniodh.

86 *Fachna* Fathach.

87 *Eochodh* IX. Feidhlioch.

88 *Eochodh* X. Aimhreamh.

89 *Eidirsgeoil.*

90 *Nuadhad* II. Neacht.

91 *Conair* I. Mor.

Immediately after the murder of this *Conair* (surnamed the *Great*) commited on him by some *Irish* Outlaws, but headed (as *Keting* says) by *Hainchill Ktagh*, Son to the King of *Brittain*, there follow'd,

An *Interregnum* of five Years:

which being over, the Succession was re-assum'd and continued thus:

92 *Lughadh* V. Sriamhndearg.

93 *Conchabhar* I. Abhraruadh.

94 *Criomthann* II. Niadhnair.

95 *Feardbach* I. Fionnfachtuach.

96 *Fiacha* V. Fionn.

97 *Fiacha* VI. Finnolaidh.

98 *Cairbre* I. Ceanncheit.

99

99 *Feilim* I. mhac Conruidh.
100 *Tuathal* I. Teachtmhur.
101 *Mal.*
102 *Feilim* II. Rachtmhur.
103 *Cathaoir* Mor.
104 *Conn* II. Ceadchathach.
105 *Conair* II. mhac Moghalaimhe.
106 *Art* III. Aoinfhir.
107 *Lugha* VI. alias *Mac Con.*
108 *Fearghus* II. Dubhdheadach.
109 *Cormuc* Ulfhada.
210 *Eochodh* XI. Gunnat.
111 *Cairbre* II. Lithfiochair.
112 *Fothach* I. Airgtheach, and *Fothach* II. Cairbtheach, *two Brothers.*
1 3 *Fiacha* VII. Sraibhtine.
114 *Colla* Vais.
115 *Muireadhach* Tireach.
116 *Calbhach.*
117 *Eochodh* XII. Muighmheadhion.
118 *Criomthaun* III. mhac Eochuigh.
119 *Niall* I. Naoighiallach.
120 *Fearadhach* II. alias *Dathi.*

Hitherto the *Pagan* Kings. For, according to *Gratianus Lucius*, all that follow were *Chriſtians.*

121 *Laoghaire* II. mhac Neill Naoighialluidh.
122 *Oilliol* IV. Mor.
123 *Laghadh* IV. mhac Laoghaire.
124 *Muirchiortach* I. mhac Ercha.
125 *Tuathal* II. Maolgharbh.
126 *Diarmuidh* I. mhac Fearghuſſa Ceirbheoil.
127 *Fearghus* the III. and *Domhnall* the I.

two

two Brothers.
128 *Eochodh* XIII. and *Baothan* I. the former being Nephew, and the later Uncle.
129 *Ainmhire.*
130 *Baothan* II. mhac Ninnede.
131 *Aodh* II. mhac Ainmhire.
132 *Aodh* III. Slaine, and *Colman* Rimhigh, *two Brothers.*
133 *Aodh* IV. Vairidhnach.
134 *Maolchoha.*
135 *Suibhne* I. Meann.
136 *Domhnall* II. mhac Aodh.
137 *Conall* III. Ceile, and Ceallach, *two Brothers.*
138 *Blaithmhac*, and *Diarmuid* II. Ruainnigh, *two Brothers.*
139 *Seachnasach.*
140 *Ceannfidla.*
141 *Finnachta* II. Fleadhach.
142 *Loinnsioch.*
143 *Gonghail* IV. Kinnmhaghair.
144 *Fearghal* I. mhac Mhaoilduin.
145 *Foghartach.*
146 *Kinaoth.*
147 *Flaithbhertach.*
148 *Aodh* V. Ollan.
149 *Domhnall* 3. mhac Murchaidh.
150 *Niall* II. Frassach.
151 *Donnchadh* I. mhac Domhnaill.
152 *Aodh* VI. Oirnigh.
153 *Conchabhar* II. mhac Donnchaidh.
154 *Niall* III. Caille.
155 *Maolseachlainn* I. mhac Mhaoilruanuidh.
156 *Aodh* VII. Finnliath.
157 *Flann* mhac Sionna.
158 *Niall* IV. Glundubh.
159 *Donnchadh* II. mhac Floinn.

160 *Conghallach* mhac Mhaoilmhidhe.
161 *Domhnall* IV. mhac Muirchiortuidh.
162 *Maolſeachluinn* II. mhac Domhnaill.
163 *Brian* Boraimh.
164 *Maolſeachluinn* II. reſtor'd.
165 *Donnchadh* III. mhac Briain Bhoraimh.
166 *Diarmuid* III. Mhaoil-na-mbho.
167 *Toirrdhealbhach* I. mhac Taidhg.
168 *Muirchiortach* II. mhac Toirrdhealbhuidh, and *Domhnal* V. mhac Ardghair.
169 *Toirrdhealbhach* II. Mor O Conchabhair.
170 *Muirchiortach* III. mhac Neill.
171 *Ruairidh* II. O Conchabhair.

In the ſixth year of this Monarch's Reign, being the year of Chriſt, 1172. *Henry* II. of *England*, with a Fleet of 400 Sail invaded and landed in *Ireland* at *Waterford*.

Some Obſervations on, and Inferences from this Catalogue.

TO underſtand this Catalogue (which I have drawn with all the care and exactneſs I could, out of *Ketings* Hiſtory at large, and *Gratianus Lucius*'s VIII. Chapter of his *Cambrenſis Everſus*) be pleas'd to obſerve,

1. That the *Surnames* of ſuch Kings as had any, are given here, in a different Character from that of their firſt and *proper Names*.

2. That

2. That to all Kings of the ſame *Proper Name*, who had no *Surname* (I mean any other ſecond Name, derived from ſome peculiar quality of Mind, or Body, or Fortune, as all their Surnames were,) I have likewiſe for diſtinction's ſake, in a different Character (beſides Figures ſignifying what place each of 'em held among the reſt, for Example, whither the Firſt, or Second, or ſo forth among thoſe of the ſame Name) I have I ſay added their Fathers Name alſo, with the word *Mac* (which imports a Son) before 'em.

3. That the Marginal or Firſt Figures in the head of the Lines, rather ſignifie the order of Succeſſion, than the number of Kings: becauſe many of the Lines have two, one of 'em three, and an other four Kings, ruling together in a joint Sovereignty, at leaſt for ſome time.

4. That although both *Keting* and *Lucius* concur in telling us how the four Brothers of the *Mileſian* Conqueſt (numb. 5.) *Ear*, *Orba*, *Fearon*, and *Feargna*, ſons to *Eibhir* Fionn (we call him *Heber*) had in the Third year of the former joint Sovereignty of the Three ſons of *Erimhon*, (after the death of the Firſt of theſe Three) kill'd in Battel the two ſurviving Kings *Luighne* and *Laighne*; yet *Lucius* only (not *Keting*) has rank'd 'em in the Catalogue of Kings; who notwithſtanding confeſſes, their Reign was but Three months in all, when their own

own Cosin German *Iriall Faidh* (the fourth and youngest son of *Erimhon*) gave them Battel at *Cuile-Meritha*, vanquish'd and kill'd 'em all four in that Field.

5. That neither *Buchadh* (N. 62.) tho told us by *Keting* to have been the Man that kil'd the Monarch *Eoghun Mor*, is counted by him among the Kings, as who had had the Sovereign Power only 36 hours, or a day and a half in all. But *Lucius* nevertheless inserts him as one of 'em: adding however to his memory this *Motto* of the Poet, *Unusq; Titan vidit, atq; unus dies, stantem, & cadentem.*

6. That in the same manner *Diarmuid*-Mhaoil na-mo (N. 167.) is laid aside by *Keting*, tho not only *Lancarnarvensis* and *Gemitiacensis* call him King of *Ireland*; but Sir *James Ware* places him in his Catalogue as such. And this very justly too a man would think; as in the *Prospect* (*Form.* P. p. 180.) you may see at large.

7. That *Domhnal mhac Ardghair* (N. 169.) is likewise pass'd over by *Keting*; yet not so by *Lucius*, nor *Colganus* neither. See the *Prospect*, F. P. *p.* 178, &c.

8. That *Erimhon*, *Conn-Begeaglach*, and *Maol-seachluinn* II. are each of 'em twice inserted. The first, *Num.* 1 & 2. the second, *Num.* 46 & 48. the last, *N.* 193, & 195. whereof the reasons are these. *Erimhon* had been first only join'd in the Sovereignty with his elder Bro-

ther *Eibhir Fionn*; but after *Eibhir* had been kill'd by him in the Battel of *Geaſſil*, he was abſolute, as ruling alone. *Conn Begeaglach*, though when his Brother and Colleague in the Sovereign Power was kill'd, he had been forc'd to fly, & leave the Kingdom to the Victor; yet after ſome few years he recover'd it again, by killing him. And *Maolſeachluinn* II. who had been depos'd to give place to *Briain Boraimh*, came to be the ſecond time King of *Ireland* after *Clantarff* Field.

9. That the *Iriſh* Hiſtorians differ about giving the Title of *King of Ireland* to *Maolſeachluinn* II's Succeſſors: ſome giving it to one; and others, to another; and ſome (ſometimes) to more than one: but all of 'em generally calling thoſe Kings that ſucceeded him, *Gafra Sabbrach*, as who had aſſum'd the ſaid Title againſt the conſent of ſome Provinces. For ſo *Lucius* (pag. 80.) has obſerv'd.

And now that for your better and eaſier underſtanding of this Catalogue you have the neceſſary Obſervations: I'll only add one more; which tho unneceſſary for that end, may notwithſtanding give you cauſe enough to wonder, by conſidering the general Fate of about Nine Parts of Ten of ſo many Sovereign Princes as you ſee in this whole Catalogue, from *Slainghe*, the Firſt of the *Fir-bholgian*, to *Ruoridh*, the Laſt of the *Mileſian* Conqueſt. For I can aſſure you here,

here, that after the greatest diligence I could use to satisfie my self by taking Notes out of *Keting* and *Lucius* both, I find That of so vast a number of *Milesian* Kings, not above six and twenty in all had other then violent ends. Which is three less than what I have elsewhere insinuated the number of such of them as had natural ends to have been. As for the *Fir-bholgian* & *Tuath-De-Danann* Kings, tho proportionably fewer e'en of either died violent deaths, yet of their 18. which was their whole number, fourteen lost their Lives by the Sword.

But how many, or how few soever you please, of all these and those Kings of all the Former Conquests ended their days either by the hands of other men, or some prodigious judgment of Heaven, or means of other extrinsick secondary Causes, in such manner as rendred their deaths properly violent: the Inferences out of this Catalogue are plain.

1. That if we count severally each of those *Milesian* Princes, who jointly, or in Association with any other, govern'd as Kings of *Ireland*: and withal not count the same Person twice; nor count among 'em either *Cairbre* I. surnamed *Ceaud-cheit*, or *Feilim* I. mhac Conruidh (see Numb. 98. & 99.) as indeed we ought not, being these Two are the only noted for meer Usurpers, because both were chosen, one after another, by the *Plebeians* only, nay and only too to head their most hideous bloody Rebellion of

25 years continuance, againſt all the *Royal Line* (and as for the former of 'em, *viz. Cairbre*, he had not ſo much pretence of right as to have been either of the *Mileſian* or e'en *Gathelian* Race, but originally a meer *Dane:*) I ſay that if we count ſo, we ſhall find the whole number of thoſe *Mileſian* Kings, as it is in this Catalogue, to agree exactly with that which *Cambrenſis* himſelf, 500 years ſince, reported it to have been. That is, juſt 181 in all.

2. That counting, together with theſe *Mileſians*, thoſe 18. *Fir-bholgian* and *Tuatha-De-Danann* Kings who preceded them: and withal admitting both *Cairbre* Ceann-cheit & *Feilim* mhac Conruidh as Kings of *Ireland* (for ſo they really, tho illegally were in their time; the Former 5 years, till he died a natural death; and the Later 20. at the expiration of which he was kill'd in Battel by *Tuathal* Teachtmhur:) it muſt follow that they make in all 201 Kings of *Ireland*, while the Former Three Conqueſts held one after another.

3. That hereunto adding 22 more of the Fourth and Laſt (*i.e.* our *Engliſh*) Conqueſt; the whole Number of the Sovereign Princes of *Ireland*, from *Slainghe* to *Charles* II. muſt be 223. whereof Three were Queens, *Macha*, *Mary*, and *Elizabeth*.

A PROSPECT OF The State of *Ireland*, &c.

The Former PART.

SECTION I.

First Planter of Ireland, Ciocal; *First Invader*, Partholan; *then* Neimh, *and his four Sons*; *then* Fir-bholg; *then* Tuatha-De-Danann; *and last of all the Eight Sons of* Mileadh. *Fights of the former Invaders. Nine of* Ferramh Bolg, *and Nine more of* Tuatha-De-Danann, *ruled as Kings of* Ireland. Fir-Bholg *divide it into two parts. Three Septs of these remaining still. The adventures of* Mileadh, *His eight Sons conquer* Tuatha-De-Danann. *How* Erimhon *came to be sole Mo-*

narch of Ireland. He was the first of 181
Kings of the Milesian Conquest. Eoghun Mor,
600 years after Erimhon, set up the Pro-
vincial Kings. Picts first appearing. They are
the first time, and together with them all the
Islands of Scotland, Conquered by Aonghus
Ollbuadhach. Many Plantations of the Irish
in Scotland. Niall Naoighiallach's Invasion
of that Countrey: and an other by the six
Sons of Muireadhach. Fergus Mor mhac
Ercha made the first King of Scots; that is,
of the Irish in Scotland. Conius, King of Great
Brittain destroy'd by him. Three Walls
built by the Romans against the Irish. King-
dom of the Picts [illegible] by these. Da-
nish Wars in Ireland. Bad success of Rode-
ric the King of Britain's Son. The Danes va-
rious success. They are at the same time
plagued, as by others, so by Ceallaghane
(King of Mounster) most singularly. The Mo-
narch Conghallach, Mhac Mhaoil Mhithe
routs 'em, and kills 7000 of them in Battel.
What of his two next Successors in the Mo-
narchy, Briain Boraimh, does Wonders in
25 Battels, and last of all in that of Clan-
tarff Field. Maolseaghluin, that succeeded
him, and Hughaire mhac Tuathail King of
Leinster, destroy the Reliques of the Danes.
The vain attempt of Magnus King of Nor-
vegia to revenge their Fate.

Ireland

Ireland, before that fatal War broke out in the year 1641. had two different Nations, (like the Twins of *Rebecca*) ſtrugling in its Womb perpetually, almoſt five hundred years; the one called by themſelves the *Ancient Iriſh*, the other the *Old Engliſh*, or *Engliſh Iriſh*. And indeed the former may juſtly glory in the Epithet of *Ancient*: ſince, as *Cambden* himſelf confeſſes, *they fetch the beginning of their Hiſtories from the moſt profound and remote Records of Antiquity; ſo that in compariſon of them, the Ancientneſs of all other Nations is but Novelty, and as it were, a matter of yeſterday.* It is now at leaſt 2988 years ſince their Fore-fathers, the Sons of *Mileadh* (alias *Mileſius* the *Spaniard*) in a Fleet of threeſcore Sail, arrived in *Ireland* from *Gallicia* in *Spain*, conquer'd it, and left it to their Poſterity. I ſay *at leaſt*: Becauſe, although *Polychronicon*, and *Cambrenſis* (*Topog. Diſt.* 3. *c.* 17.) by their ſaying, That *from the Arrival of thoſe Mileſians in* Ireland, *till the death of S.* Patrick *their Apoſtle, were efflux'd* 1800 *years.* (See *Jocelin*, Vit. Saucti Patricii, *c.* 196.) agree exactly with *Ketings* Epocha here: yet the *Iriſh Book of Reigns*, makes the Arrival of thoſe

Britannia, *tranſlated by* Philemon Holland, *Edit. Lond. Tit.* Ireland, *pag.* 64.

Milesians much earlier; that is, (to this present year of Christ 1680.) even as long since as 3480 years compleat. But I follow *Keting*'s Reformation of that *Book*, and his Account (in his *MSS. History*, l. 1.) whereby he places the *Milesian* Conquest in the year of the World, 2736. after the Floud 1086, after *Moses*'s passing the *Red Sea*, 192. and before the Birth of Christ 1308.

Were it to my main purpose, which is, or only, or at least mostly concern'd in those *Milesians*, I could insert here, out of *Keting*, the several Plantations and Conquests of that Countrey before they knew it.

How one *Ciocal*, about a hundred years after the Deluge, in a small Fleet of Vessels, each Vessel having fifty Men, and fifty Women aboard, arriving there, was the First that planted it.

How *Bartholanus* and his three Sons *Languinus*, *Salanus*, and *Reterugus*, with their Wives; and as *Nennius* writes, a thousand Fighting Men, about 300 years after the Flood, *Anno Mundi*, 1956. before the Birth of *Abraham* 95 years, invaded it: had many doughty Battels therein with those *Aborigines* the Issue of *Ciocal*, and Progeny of *Cham*, who (come thither from *Afric*) were called *Gyants*, because

The Author lived (as himself writes) An. 830. *under* Anaraugh, *King of* Anglesey *and* Guinech, *or* North-Wales.

becauſe partly of their ſtature or corpulency (which yet was no way exceeding the talleſt growth of other men) and partly of their wickedneſs, endeavouring to deſtroy every where the Deſcendants or Progeny of *Japhet*. And how this *Bartholanus*, alias *Partholan*, having Conquer'd at laſt thoſe *Aborigines*, and *Affricans*, his Iſſue after him were, at the end of three hundred years, conſumed by a Peſtilence; not one remaining of them. A juſt judgment from Heaven (without peradventure) on him, who had fled thither (as it were) from Heaven, for having in his own Countrey, in *Scythia*, kill'd both his Father and Mother, to make way for a Brother of his, and their Son, to come to the Royal Throne.

How, in the end of 30 years more, *Nemedus*, another *Scythian* (ſome of the *Iriſh* Chronologiſts ſay he was a ſon to *Bartholanus*, left by him in *Scythia* when himſelf had departed thence) with his four Sons, *Starius*, *Gervale*, *Annin*, and *Fergus*, in a Fleet of 34 Ships, and 30 Marriners in each of them, arriving in *Ireland*, overthrew in three Battels the remainder of thoſe *Affrican* Gyants, but was overcome in the fourth. And how ſoon after this defeat *Nemedus* being dead, his People rouſing themſelves, put it to the iſſue of one great Battel, fought at the ſame time both by Sea and by Land, they having 30 thouſand at Land, and ſo many more at Sea: and the Fight proved

ſo

ſo mortal, that albeit they had the Victory, yet they could reap no benefit by it; the very Air being ſo corrupted by the ſtench of the Carcaſſes which lay unburied every where (for they kill'd promiſcuouſly in every place after that Victory, Man, Woman, and Child of their Enemies) that all over the Land there was an univerſal Peſtilence; which after ſeven years more made 'em depart and quit the whole Country, leaving only ten Captains to defend thoſe of their People (that could not have Shipping) againſt the remainder of the Gygantick *Africans*.

How theſe Children or Poſterity of *Nemedus* (*Clanna Neimheadh*, the *Iriſh* call 'em) to avoid that dreadful and continual Peſtilence, departing in a thouſand Veſſels, great and ſmall, under the Conduct of three Chieftains, *Simeon Breac*, *Ibaath*, and *Briotan*; the other two ſailing to *Greece*; *Briotan* with his adherents Landed in the *North* of that Countrey, which we now call *Scotland*: and, with his and their Poſterity remaining there, gave the denomination of *Brittain* to this whole Iſland, which is now called *Great Brittain*; as holy *Cormac*, the K. of *Mounſter*, and Biſhop of *Caſhel*, in his Pſalter of *Caſhel*, together with all the Chronologers of *Ireland*, affirm. Wherein ſurely they have at leaſt much more probability of their ſide, than any late Authors have, that derive that name

name from *Brutus*, or his Romantick Hiſtory either in *Galfridus*, or in any other. For if from *Brutus*, beſides other reaſons, why not *Brutannia* rather than *Britannia*?

How the five ſons of *Dela*, viz. *Gandius*, *Genandius*, *Segandius*, *Rutheragus*, and *Slanius*, being the 8th. Generation from *Simeon Breac*, and called in Iriſh *Fir-bholg*, after 217 years compleat from the former arrival of *Nemedus* there, invaded *Ireland* with 5000 men of all ſorts in their company: and finding no great reſiſtance, won it entirely, routed utterly out of it the remainder of that curſed Generation of *Cham*, the *Affrican* Giants, and divided it into five Provinces or Portions; which Diviſion continues till this day. How they, and four of their Children after them, were in ſucceſſion Monarchs of all *Ireland*, after that *Slanius*, who was the youngeſt of them all, had by force and War upon the reſt erected it to a Monarchy; though he enjoy'd it but one year, Death having given him no longer joy of his Conqueſt over his Brethren. How none before them, *i. e.* none of the former Invaders called themſelves *Kings*: they being the firſt Kings, and *Slanius* among them too, as I have now ſaid, the firſt Monarch that *Ireland* ever had. Yet the Reigns of all the nine made not above 36 years in the whole.

How

How *Eugenius*, or *Eogbun*, as the *Irish* Books call him (and so they have quite other terminations, both for all these and all other Names too expressed by us with *Latin* terminations) being the last of them, and prosperously Reigning in peace and plenty over *Ireland*, the Nation whom the *Irish* call *Tuath-De-Danann*, under their King *Nuathad Airgidlaimh*, as descending from the foresaid *Nemedus*, or *Nemeus*, or *Neimh*, (which you please to call him) and therefore claiming that Kingdom, as their right, invaded it, fought a great Battel in *Connaught*, with *Feramh-Bolg* (the Generation of *Simeon Breac*, and *Neimheadh*, or *Nemedus*) kill'd a hundred thousand of them, and thereby, and without much loss to themselves, conquer'd the whole Kingdom; the Reliques of *Ferramh-Bolg* retiring to the small Islands of *Arrain*, *Ile*, *Rachluinn*, and many other about *Ireland* and *Scotland*, where they continued till such time as *Ireland* came to be govern'd by Provincial Kings under the *Milesians*.

How the Posterity of those Reliques of *Ferraimh Bolg* being forced away by the *Picts*, had their refuge back again to *Ireland*: and first to the King of *Leinster*, turning Tenants to him for such Lands as he was pleased to lett unto them: and next from *Leinster*, because of the heavy rent there, to *Connaught*: shifting so in the best manner they could for themselves, until

by

by *Co-Chulain* and *Connall Cearnach*, and the Inhabitants of *Ulſter*, they were wholly driven away the ſecond time, and quite Baniſh'd for ever: only three Families, Sur-names, or Septs of them excepted, which according to the judgment of ſome *Iriſh* Antiqnaries, remain ſtill in *Connaght* and *Leinſter*; as Dr. *Keting*, who alſo names theſe Septs, does write. Adding thereunto this further animadverſion, as a neceſſary conſequence, that theſe three Families are not of *Clanna Gaoidhel*, or Poſterity of *Gathelus*, from whom all the *Mileſians* deſcended long before either *Mileſius* himſelf, or his Predeceſſors came into *Spain*.

Laſtly, how according to the Book called *Pſaltuir Chaſſil*, the aforeſaid Colony, or Nation of *Tuatha-De-Danann*, held the Sovereignty of *Ireland* for 197 years, under ſeven, or rather indeed nine Kings; for after *Fiacha*, who was the 6th of them, reigned the three Sons of *Cearmada* by turns, yearly.

But neither to proſecute, nor ſo much as to inſert any of theſe Plantations or Conqueſts of *Ireland* by *Ciocal*, or *Partholan*, or *Neimhe*, or *Fears Bolg*, or *Tuatha Dee Danann* (as the *Iriſh* names of them are) can be much, if any thing at all, to my main purpoſe here. And though perhaps it might be in ſome ſort material to tell you what a famous man in his Generation, nay in a great part of the World, *Mileſius* himſelf

ſelf (otherwiſe called *Galathus* in Latin, but in Iriſh *Galamh*) had been. Or to tell you. 1. Of his firſt adventuring from *Spain* to *Scythia*, and ſerving there as General of the Army, under his Kinſman *Reflair*, the great Monarch of that Countrey. 2. Of his marrying this *Reflair*'s Daughter, and *Reflair*'s growing jealous of his greatneſs, and preparing therefore to diſpatch him, and his preventing the King by taking away his life: and then his quitting *Scythia*, and paſſing to *Egypt* by Sea, with a Fleet of ſixty Sail, and his being there employ'd by *Pharaoh* as General againſt the King of *Ethiopia*'s Forces warring at that time on *Egypt*. 3. Of the many over-throws given by him to them, and *Pharaoh*'s ſo great favour to him thereupon, that ſeeing him a Widower, (his former Wife, the *Scythian* Kings Daughter having died before he came to *Egypt*) he gave him one of his own Daughters to Wife. 4. Of his departure from *Egypt* by Sea, and various adventures for ſome years, roaming about all the Northern Seas and Iſles of *Europe*. 5. Of his return at laſt to his own Countrey of *Spain*, and the five and forty Battels fought there victoriouſly by him, and under his conduct by his near Coſins the Children of *Breogbuin* (the Son of *Bratha*, who founded *Braganza* in *Portugal*) againſt the forein Enemies that invaded that Kingdom then. 6. Of the deſtruction

and

and utter extirpation, at leaſt for a good while, of all thoſe Foreiners out of *Spain*, by his Valour and Wiſdom: and (which was conſequent) of his poſſeſſing, by himſelf and his foreſaid Kinſmen, the greater Part of this Kingdom. 7. Of his two and thirty Sons, part Legitimat, but the moſt part Illegitimat. 8. Of the great Dearth in his time all over *Spain*, continuing ſix and twenty years, thro want of Rain. 9. And laſtly, how this Dearth, together with ſeveral other reaſons, but particularly that, of his minding now the Prophetical Prediction of him by his own Magitian *Cathoir* ſome years before, *That his Poſterity ſhould ſettle in Ireland:* made him, and (ſoon after his death) eight of his Sons think upon invading *Ireland*. Tho, I ſay, theſe are matters not wholly foreign to my purpoſe; yet becauſe they are unneceſſary, it ſufficeth to have touch'd 'em lightly.

And ſo I proceed to what I intended, as more material here to let you know. Which is, 1. That of thoſe 8. Sons of that Great *Mileſius* (for no more of his two and thirty Sons ventured to *Ireland*) who preſently after their Fathers death, ſetting forth from *Breoghuin*'s Tower, a place in *Gallicia*, long after called *Notium*, but of later years *Compoſtella*) and putting to Sea with the firſt convenience, and landing in *Ireland* then when the three Sons

of

of *Cearmada*, ruled there by turns: and by their great Valour, deſtroying all three at laſt in the Battel of *Tailtinn*: and thereby ſubduing thorowly the whole Nation of *Tuatha-De-Danann*: two only (I mean of thoſe eight Brothers) ſurvived to rejoyce in their Conqueſt finiſh'd by that Battel, *Eibhir* and *Erimhon* (alias *Heber* and *Herimon*, as the *Latins* call them:) the other ſix being loſt by various Chances.

2. That *Eibhir* and *Erimhon* aſſuming now the ſovereign power of the whole Iſland, & after partition made firſt to themſelves, then to their Couſins German, then to their other Captains, and laſt of all to the common Soldiers, of convenient proportions of Land) ruling ſeverally over all (that is, *Eibhir* in the *Southern*, and *Erimhon* in the *Northern* Diviſion) the firſt year in perfect peace together: and then falling at odds, through the Pride and inſtigation of *Heber*'s Wife, that put her Husband upon having all in both Diviſions to himſelf alone; to the end forſooth, ſhe might ſit and ſtrut upon the three chief Ardes or Heights of *Ireland*, as the only Queen thereof: and then coming to a pitch'd Battel, and *Heber* kill'd in it: and then *Herimon* remaining the only King, without any Competitor until his death, which hapned fourteen years after: He was the firſt of a hundred fourſcore and one, that as Monarchs of all *Ireland*, ſucceſſively

cessively governed it, and the *Milesian* or *Irish* Nation the only possessors of it, for two thousand, four hundred, eighty eight years, until the landing of *Henry* the second there in the year of Christ 1172.

3. *Cambrensis* himself (tho otherwise no great favourer of the Irish) does certifie so much, by computing from *Herimon* the first King, to *Laogirius*, (who was King when St. *Patrick* landed there, *Ani Christi* 432. to preach the Gospel) a hundred, thirty and one: from *Laogirius* to King *Fedlimidius*, which contain'd 400 years of the flourishing state of Christianity among the *Irish*, three and thirty more: and from that period to *Ruaridh O Conchabhair*, who was the Monarch when *Henry* II. landed as before, the whole remainder of that number of a hundred fourscore and one: who (besides a far greater number of the Provincial Kings under them) governed, as Sovereign Monarchs of all that Island for so many Ages, from the year of the World, 2736. Argument enough I think for the Antiquity of the *Irish* Nation, to be no where paralel'd, if not peradventure by the *Chineses* only, in the late History written of them by *Martinus à Martinis*.

Giraldus Camb. Topog. Hiber. dist. 3. c. xv. 17. 36, 37, & 44.

4. That for their bravery in Martial Exploits (to say nothing now of a thousand bloody proofs thereof given by them at home for much above 2000 years, fighting almost continually, either the Progeny of *Heber* in general against *Herimon*'s for the Sovereignty; or one Province, or greater Division, *Leath Cuinn*, and *Leath Mogh*, invading the other, especially after the Provincial Kings had set up by the Authority of *Eoghun Mor* or *Eugenius Magnus* the Monarch, about 600 years after the death of *Herimon*: so that very few of their Monarchs in so large an extent of time died other than violent deaths, and this in Battel commonly; but to say nothing of these proofs given by them at home) their manifest Invasions abroad, their Plantations, and at last even total Conquest of the Kingdom of *Albain*, that part of Great *Britain* which in after Ages came to be called *Scotland*, from their conquering and planting of it with Colonies of their Children (for they themselves were in this part of the World, the original *Scots*, as their Countrey now called *Ireland*, or in Latin *Hibernia*, was then the only Countrey named *Scotia*) is an argument which cannot be refuted.

5. That the Nation which we call *Picts*, but the *Irish*, in their Language, *Cruinith*, having in the reign of *Herimon*, the first *Irish* Monarch,

narch, roam'd about by Sea from *Scythia* till they arrived at last in *Ireland*, and there desiring to inhabit, and being denied this requeſt, but however directed by *Herimon* to that part of the now Great *Britain*, which lying Northeaſt of *Ireland* was called *Albain* then, and is ſo ſtill by the *Iriſh*; and here ſeated themſelves, and then multiplying exceedingly for two hundred and fifty years; at the expiration of this time, upon ſome difference hapned, *Aonghus* (or *Æneas*.) *Olbhuadhach*, the VII. Monarch of *Ireland*, ſucceeding *Herimon*, made ſo ſharp and long a War upon them, and not on them only, but as well on the Northern *Britains* remaining ſtill their Neighbours, as upon the Inhabitants of the barren *Oreades* the Race of *Fir Bholg* long before expelled *Ireland*, that in fifty fierce Battels given them, he utterly broke their whole ſtrength and made them Tributaries.

Nor was this the only Conqueſt made by the *Mileſian* Iriſh either on the Heathen or Chriſtian *Picts*, and their Aſſociats in *Albain*. For to paſs over thoſe ſix or ſeven Invaſions more of the *Iriſh* into *Albain*, under ſeveral of their Monarchs from the Reign of the foreſaid *Aonghus*, or *Eneas*, to the Reign of *Niall* the *Great*, ſurnamed alſo *Naoighiallach*. Likewiſe to ſay nothing how this very *Niall*

not only went himself in Person with a powerful Army thither, partly to confirm, and partly to enlarge those Plantations made there by his Predecessors, but was himself the first of Mortals, that by his own Authority, and at the instance of those Plantations gave the name of *Scotia Minor*, (or *Scotland the Lesser*) to that Northern part of Great *Britain*, ordaining all his Subjects to call it so. Besides, to pass by as well the Invasion, as the extraordinary great and famous Plantation made therein by the six sons of that *Ulster* King *Muiredhach* (whom *Cambrensis* calls in Latin *Maredus*) either in the Time of *Laoghaire* the II's being Monarch of *Ireland*, when St. *Patrick* conquered that Kingdom to Christian Religion, or at least somewhat later. To pass I say all these matters in silence, though otherwise both great in themselves, and no less attested by sufficient Authority: that I think is very great and very true, which *Cambden* (*a*) in his *Britannia* writes, That the *Scots* come from *Ireland*, after a long War, at last in the year of Christ 740. and in one great Battel destroyed the *Picts* so, as there was scarce one of them left alive; whereby that whole Nation and very name of the *Picts* was utterly extinguish'd.

(*a*) Title *Scots. pag.* 25. and before, *pag.* 128.

6. That

6. That besides; the *Irish* Chronicles, without contradiction from any, tell us, how the foresaid *Niall* the *Great*, surnamed *Naoighellach* from the nine Hostages taken by him, five from the five Provinces of *Ireland*, and four from the *Picts* and other Inhabitants of *Scotland* or *Albuin*, not only made the other parts of Great *Britain*, even so far as the South of it, tributary, but with a mighty Force of *Irish*, *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Britons* in one Army pass'd the Sea to *France*, landed in *Armorica*, and march'd so far as the River *Loyre*. Where, being encamped, he was treacherously kill'd by *Eochae* King of *Leinster*, whom he had formerly so punish'd and plagu'd, that he forc'd him to fly even out of all *Ireland*, and who therefore studying still revenge, followed him unknown to *France*, and finding there an opportunity, took it. For standing one day by chance on the bank of the foresaid River, and seeing *Niall* at the same time on the other Bank, not far off, he bent his Bow presently, and with all his might letting fly at him, shot him dead in the place by piercing his head through both scull and brain.

7. That moreover, *Fergus* the *Great*, King of all *Ireland*, as *Buchanan* calls him, enter'd *Scotland* with a puissant Army, gave Battel to *Coilus* King of the *Britons*, who invaded

both the *Picts* and *Irish* Plantations together, fought him, kill'd him, overthrew his whole Army, was thereupon himself both declar'd and receiv'd the first King of the *Scottish* Nation inhabiting the North of Great *Britain*, and after this being gone for *Ireland*, as he was returning back again to *Scotland*, was drown'd hard by the Rock, which from his fate before it, hath ever since been called by the Irish *Carig-Fherus*, now *Knock-fergus* by the *English*: and that all this happened, says *Buchanan*, about the time that *Alexander* the *Great* enter'd *Babylon*. For albeit the *Irish* Books agree not with *Buchanans* relation of this *Fergusius* the *Great*; not either, I say, as to his quality of being King of *Ireland*, or as to this time of his Adventure in *Scotland*, or elsewhere, mentioning him only as a Brother to *Mairchertach Mor mhac Ercha* Monarch of *Ireland*, and then fixing both his life and death immediatly after Saint *Patricks* death, that is about 530 years after the Incarnation of our Lord: yet since they agree with *Buchanan* in all other material points related by him of this famous *Fergus*; especially that of his entring *Scotland* with a great Army, being the first King of *Scots* in *Britain*: I think the allegation of what they so agree upon is mightily to purpose.

Rerum Scoticar. l. 1.

8. That

8. That therefore it is easie to be understood (whatever *Cambden*'s admiration be) how the *Milesian Irish* Race were those daring men, that having the assistance of the *Picts* their Tributaries, and some few *Britons*, withdrawn to them for protection from the *Roman* yoke, drew forth at one time thirty thousand armed men against *Agricola*, and gave *Severus* the Emperour so much trouble, that of *Romans* and Associats, he lost in one expedition against them fifty thousand men. *In his* Britannia. Tit. Picts. *p.* 115.

And were yet the men against whose incursions into the *Roman* Province here; first the Fence was built by *Adrian* from *Edinborough Frith* to *Cluyd*, fourscore miles in length, the foundation of it being laid deep within the ground of huge piles or stakes, fastned together like a strong hedg or mound: then the work of Turff and Earth by *Severus* across the Island from one Sea to another; then under *Honorius*, the Wall of stone running the same extent, eight foot broad, and twelve foot high: and last of all, the Towers and Bulwarks all along the Southern Coast of *Britain*, at convenient distances, raised against their landing on that side out of their plundering Fleets. *Dio.* *Spartianus.*

6. That a further argument yet, and such as of all hands must be confess'd to shew abundantly their Martial spirit and fortitude in those days of old, was their brave defence of their own Countrey at home against the manifold powerful and almost continual Invasions of it from abroad by the Heathen *Danes*, *Norvegians*, and *Easterlings*, at least 200 years.

For I pass wholly over those little, short and inconsiderable Invasions of them, either by *Egfrid* the *Saxon* King of *Northumberland*, in the year 640. according to *Cambden*, (c) or (rather indeed) by his General *Berthus* in the year 684. as *Beda* (d) has it; or by some other *Brittish* Commanders joyn'd with the *Picts*, at two or three several times in the seventh Century after Christ. Of none of these do I take notice, because they signifie not much, save only the preying and burning at two several times and places a part of the Countrey by the Sea-side, and three inconsiderable Fights, as they are related in the *Irish* Books. The first under the Sovereignty of *Blathmhac* and *Diarmuid Ruannigh*, two Brothers ruling peaceably together as Kings of *Ireland*; wherein the *Saxon* King and thirty of his Nobles were kill'd, say the *Irish* Chronicles, without mentioning other loss, or any at all of

(c) *Britannia* Tit. *Ireland.*

(d) *l.* 4. *c.* 26.

of the other side. The second under the Sovereignty of *Fionachta Fliadhach*: whereof all the account they give is, that *Conghusgach* King of the *Picts*, and a great many of the *Irish* were slain in it. The third, after a few years more, under the Monarchy of *Loionsiogch mhac Aonghusa*, fought against the men of *Ulster* by the *Brittons*, but to their own loss. And this is all the *Irish* Chronicles (in Doctor *Keting*) have of these matters. So that neither the loss nor Victory signifying much of either side, at least as to *Ireland* in general, by any of these Invasions, there was nothing more heard of them or of the Invaders.

Much less was there ever in any Chronicle or Book that I could see, either in *English*, *Irish*, or *Latin*, before *Cambden*'s *Britannia* came forth, any mention made of *Edgar* King of *England*, how puissant soever he was, his having conquered a great part of *Ireland*, and *Dublin* withal, or indeed so much as one foot of Land there, nay or so much as his having attempted any such thing. And therefore I take no notice of *Cambden*'s old Charter of King *Edgar*, wherever he found it.

And so I do as little of *Buchanan*'s relation, where he writes, that *Gregory* the Great, King of *Scotland* (who began his Reign *Anno Christi* 875. and ended it with his life *Anno* 902.) invaded *Ireland* with a puissant Army, during

during the minority of *Donogh* King of *Ireland*, and Tutorſhip of this young King by *Brien* and *Conchuair*: beat theſe Tutors in two ſeveral great Fights: took *Dondalk*, *Drogheda*, and *Dublin*: viſited here the young King, aſſum'd his Tutorage to himſelf: placed Governours in the ſtrong Towns: receiv'd threeſcore Hoſtages for their fidelity: and with them return'd victorious to *Scotland*.

Certainly *Ireland* never had at any time, ſince the very beginning (not even ſince the firſt Monarch *Slanius*, who reigned above three thouſand years ago) any King that was a Minor, as Doctor *Keting* well obſerves, and may be ſeen by any that reads over in his Chronology and Hiſtory all the Reigns of the ſeveral Monarchs, who during that vaſt extent of time ſucceſſively govern'd *Ireland*, or had the Title to govern as Monarchs there, until it came under the *Engliſh* Power in the year of Chriſt 1172. There was not one of them all that came to the Soveraignty, but either by election of the people, or power of the Sword: as there was not one in ſeven but came to it by this latter way, that is, by killing of his Predeceſſor, and this commonly too in Battel. Beſides their very fundamental Law of *Taniſtry* did exclude a Minor. What then muſt we

Keting in the life of *Brian Boyumha*.

we think, where ſo many thouſands deſcend-ed of *Heber* and *Herimon* were at hand to claim their Titles, rather than a Minor ſhould have it?

But to ſay no more to this feigned Invaſion from *Scotland*, nor any thing, other than what I have already, of thoſe former true however inconſiderable ones from elſewhere in Great *Britain*: and to return back where I was, to the Invaſions both true, and terrible and laſting indeed of the *Danes*: what I would ſay is, that notwithſtanding thoſe cruel Heathens had from the year of Chriſt 820. (when they firſt invaded *Ireland* in the Reign of *Hugh*, in Iriſh *Aodh*, ſurnamed *Ordnighe* Monarch of *Ireland*, and *Airtre mhic Caithil* Provincial King of *Mounſter*; and after that year, all along in the Reigns of both that Monarch and his two Succeſſors *Conchauar mhac Donchadha* and *Niall Caille*, as likewiſe of *Feilimidh mhic Criomthaine*, the *Latins* call him *Feidlimidius*, ſucceſſor to *Airtre* in the Kingdom of *Mounſter*) in ſeveral Fleets, the two firſt, one after another, landing in *Mounſter*, the third in the North, the fourth in *vibh Cinſallach* in *Leinſter*, fifth, in the Harbour of *Limmerick*, ſixth, of 60 Sail at the River *Boyne*, ſeventh, of forty Sail on the River *Liffy*, eighth and ninth, extraordinary great mighty ones at *Lough-*

Lough-Foyle in *Ulſter*, poured in continually from time to time for above forty years together, thoſe almoſt incredible Numbers of men, related by *Hanmor*: yet the *Iriſh* fought 'em ſtill, and foyl'd 'em too in eight or nine Battels.

And although, being too much overpowred by the continual ſupplies of new men coming to their Enemies, who were abſolute maſters of the Seas; they, after a tedious cruel and continual War, became at laſt for ſome little ſeaſon Tributary to their Captain General *Turgheiſe* (for ſo the *Iriſh* call him, by us called *Turgeſius*) who now ſtiled himſelf King of *Ireland*; lived in the middle thereof at *Lough Ribh* near the place where now *Athlone* is; had both there and all over the whole Kingdom in every Province and Countrey, and almoſt nook of it, his *Dane-Raths* and other Fortifications made, and ſtrong Garriſons planted in 'em: yet (very ſoon after the generality of their Princes and people (I ſay the generality: for ſome of them held out ſtill in ſome inacceſſible places of Rocks and Bógs and Woods) had ſo yielded to him) their wiſdom & valour enfranchiz'd them moſt wonderfully in little above one Months time, by their utter deſtruction of this Tyrant & all his Heathen Crue. For upon his luſting after the beautiful Daughter of *Maolſechluin* King of *Meath*, and his deſiring

ſuing her of her Father to be his Concubine, and the Fathers ſeeming of purpoſe to conſent; and then ſending her privately at the Night appointed, but attended with fifteen reſolute Youths in Womens attire with ſhort Swords under their Gowns, and inſtructions what to do: and then when it was very late at Night, and all the reſt of the leacherous Tyrants great Commanders withdrawn each to his own Apartment, their ſeizing him ſo ſoon as he began to be rude with her, and the Armour too of all the reſt laid together in one heap on a Table in the Hall: and then her Fathers ruſhing in at the ſame time, and killing all thoſe Commanders every one when they expected other Company, each one of them one of the young beautiful Damſels, as the Tyrant had promiſed them: hereupon, I ſay, and upon the word given by Meſſengers, who were ready of purpoſe, flying into all parts, the *Iriſh* to a man throughout the Kingdom are preſently in Arms, fall upon the aſtoniſh'd *Danes*, attack and carry their Forts, fight their Troops wherever they embody, rout 'em, kill 'em, and purſue the remainders of them to their very Ships, getting now away out of the Roads, as Wind & Weather ſerv'd 'em. As for *Turgeſius* himſelf, *Maolſeachluin*, reſerv'd him in Fetters for a time, and then drown'd him at laſt in *Longh-ainme*.

So

So that, after much about forty years bloody, continual and general War at home in all the Provinces, and ſeveral years moſt miſerable and general thraldom under the yoke of ſuch powerful, barbarous and fell Tyrants, who left not a Monaſtery or Church, or Chappel ſtanding where ever they came; who placed a Lay-heathen Abbot, in every Cloyſter, and endowed Church to gather the Revenues; who layed ſo many times all their Countrey in Aſhes; who no leſs than four ſeveral times in one Month burnt *Ard-magh*, the moſt holy See and Metropolitan City then of all *Ireland*; who ſlew indiſtinctly for ſo many years both Prieſts and Clerks and Laicks, and mean and great, and rich and poor without mercy; and who at laſt having ſubdued the miſerable remainder, impoſed thoſe burdens of Bondage on them which were ſuch, that if as to the particulars they were not atteſted by all the *Iriſh* Chronicles in Dr. *Keting*, they would ſurpaſs all belief: we ſee how at laſt, and *for that preſent*, the *Iriſh* Nation were by the wiſdom of this *Maolſeachluin* King of *Meath*, and by the great Valour and reſolution of the reſt of their Princes and People, delivered. I ſay *for that preſent*. For purſuant to what has been ſaid before, you are to underſtand now,

10. That

10. That but a very few years after, becauſe in the Reign of the ſame *Maolſeachluin mhic Mhaolruanuidh* King of *Meath*, (who deſervedly upon the aforeſaid expulſion of the *Danes* was by the Princes and Nobility made King of all *Ireland*, and continued ſo until his death, *i.e.* full ſixteen years and no more) three *Norvegian* Brothers, *Amelanus*, *Cytaracus*, and *Ivorus*, as *Polychronicon* calls 'em, with their Train, being come to *Ireland* in a peaceable manner, and under pretence of Trafficking, got leave of the Princes of the Land to build three Cities, paying Tribute for them, *Dublin*, *Waterford*, and *Limeric*. Which they had no ſooner finiſhed, and ſtrongly fortified, than the *Iriſh* found themſelves engaged in as great a War as the former, by new and numerous Fleets both of *Norvegians*, *Danes*, and *Oſtmans* (as they call'd 'em then) arriving continually from time to time in all the Quarters of the Kingdom. The difference only was, that the former continued forty years, or thereabouts; but this War now off and on a hundred and fifty years compleat. And when the former began, the *Iriſh* had no ſtrangers in pay whoſe Revolt might endanger them: but when this began they had *Ketting.* Poly-chronicon. *Ketting.*

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a great number even of *Daniſh*, or other Eaſtetling Forreigners (whom immediately upon ending the former War, they entertain'd in pay, and therefore call'd 'em *Bownies*) to guard their Coaſts all round the Kingdom, and theſe every one turned againſt them now. Beſides in the former the *Iriſh* were all of a mind againſt the common Enemy; but in this they were often divided, ſome of them confederating openly and fighting in conjunction with thoſe forein Enemies againſt their Native Soil, eſpecially the little King of *Deſies* in *Mounſter*, and the King of *Leinſter* too not ſeldom. Moreover, to end the former War, and redeem them from their bondage under *Turgeſius*, the ſtratagem of *Maolſeachluin* was neceſſary; but in this later all along both in the procedure, and final iſſue of it, they owed their great and frequent Victories not to any ſtratagem, but under God to pure Valour and manly Reſolution.

But that I may at laſt come to an iſſue on this point, I will paſs over all thoſe victorious Battels fought by the *Iriſh* in the procedure of this ſecond *Daniſh* War made upon them. 1. At firſt the Battel of *Dromma Damhaigha*, fought by the foreſaid King of *Ireland*, *Maolſeachluin* himſelf. 2. The Battel of *Loighſoil* by his Succeſſor *Aedh Finliath*. 3. The many Battels in the Reign of *Donn-*

chaa

chpe mhic Floinn, fought by *Ceallaghane* King of *Mounſter*, whereby he not only took *Limmerick*, *Caſhel*, *Cork*, and *Waterford* from the *Danes*, but quite extirpated them at leaſt in his days out of that Province. His Sea-fight alſo with their Fleet before *Dundalk*; which proved extreamly fatal to them. Likewiſe the great ſlaughter of their fellows in *Connaught* by the *Conacians* about the ſame time. Moreover, and which was ſomewhat extraordinary, and before *Ceallaghane* had taken *Limmerick*, the Battel of *Roſcrea*, where the Merchants and Townſmen at a great *Fair* held in that place on Saint *Peters* day, underſtanding of an Army of *Danes* coming on them from *Connaught* and *Limmerick* under a *Daniſh* Earl called *Oilfin*, ſet forth againſt them in the beſt order they could, fought them, defeated them, and kill'd three or four thouſand of them in that Field. Beſides *Muirchiortach mhac Neill* King of *Ulſter*, his killing 800 with their chief Commanders, *Abilaine*, *Aufer*, and *Roilt*, and ſoon after *Conuing mhac Neill* 1200 more of their Heathen wicked Crue. And further yet, the Defeat given to *Rodoricus* the King of *Britains* Son, who *Anno Chriſti* 966. as *Hanmer* ſays, invaded *Ireland* with a puiſſant Army, but loſt both Army and Life by thoſe he invaded.

4. The Battel of *Muine Broghaine* fought by

 the

the Monarch *Conghallach mhac Maoil Mhithe*, with the slaughter of 7000 *Danes* on the spot, though with great loss of his own side too. 5. and lastly, even all those four & twenty bloudy Battels fought against the *Danes*, and their Confederats before the Battel of *Cluain-Tairbh*, and fought I say every one of them by that happy victorious Prince until his death *Brien mhac Kinedie*, alias *Boraimhe*, who in the fourth year of the foresaid Monarch *Conghallach*'s Reign came to be King of *Mounster*, and within eight years next following made all *Leath Mogha*, i. e. the Southern half of *Ireland* acknowledg him their Sovereign: and ruled so for seven and thirty years, until he was chosen at last Monarch of all *Ireland:* in which last Supremacy he continued flourishing the remainder of his life, which after twelve years more he ended victoriously at *Cluain-tairf* Field. And as I do pass over so many former Battels wherein the *Irish* were victorious in this second War: so I shall those many other too wherein they were to some purpose foiled in the same War; tho Martial courage, tho true Valour may sometimes exert it self no less in the Foil than in the Victory. I'le take no notice, neither of the stoning to death *Maolguala*, King of *Mounster*, by those barbarous heathen Foes, in the Reign of *Aodh Finliath:* nor of the

the mighty overthrow given the *Leinſter* men by *Tomhar* one of their Generals, in the reign of *Niall Gluindubh:* nor of *Sitric*, another General of theirs, both defeating and killing, and that in a more conſiderable fight alſo, the ſaid Monarch *Niall Gluindubh* himſelf: nor of the Battel of *Biothlane* againſt the *Leinſter* men again, under the Reign of *Domhnal mhac Muircheirtae:* nor finally of the Battel of *Cille mhoane*, fought by the *Danes* and *Lagenians* both, joyn'd together now againſt their Monarch *Domhnal mhac Muirchirtae*; wherein the King of *Ulſter Ardgall*, and *Domhnal* King of *Oirghiellae*, and many others of great quality were kill'd of the Monarch's ſide.

As well every one of theſe unſucceſsful Battels, as all the former, ten times both in number and weight, more ſucceſsful to the *Iriſh* in the ſecond War, I willingly paſs over, to come unto, and give you the famous Fight of *Cluain-Tairbh* at laſt. It was the five and twentieth and laſt of all the Battels fought ſo bravely by that victorious King of *Ireland*, *Brian Boraimhe* himſelf. It was indeed the Battel that put an end to all the *Daniſh* hopes in that Kingdom. Beſides, it was, if ever any was, by mutual conſent of both ſides, a pitch'd Battel, and the Field, whereon it was fought, ſome weeks before

agreed upon between them. So that there was no place at all for Ambuſcadoes, Tricks, or ſtratagems in it; but pure Valour muſt decide the quarrel and win the day.

The occaſion, manner and iſſue of it, take thus in ſhort. About the end of *Brian Boraimh*'s Reign, the Kingdom of *Ireland* being all over in peace and flouriſhing with all earthly bleſſings under him, and no more *Danes* left in the Land, but ſuch a certain number of Artificers, Handy-craftſmen, and Merchants in *Dublin*, *Weixford*, *Waterford*, *Cork*, and *Limmerick*, as he thought and knew could be maſter'd at any time if they dared rebel: he ſends to his Brother-in-law *Maolmoradh mhac Murchoe* King of *Leinſter*, deſiring three ſpecial Maſts for ſhipping out of his Woods. *Maoldmoradh* conſents, and goes himſelf to ſee them drawn along by the ſtreingth of men to *Cean Choradh*, the Monarch's Houſe in *Tomond*. A difference happening in the way between thoſe men, and thereupon *Maolmoradh* alighting, and helping them to draw one of the beams up a high Mountain which they muſt have croſs'd, he toare off the claſp of his outward Robe. Which, ſo ſoon as he came to the Monarchs Court, and viſited the Queen, his own Siſter *Garmlaigh*, he deſires her to faſten, telling her how it was torn off. She takes

takes the Robe, throws it into the fire, burns it before his face, and then rebukes him smartly for his unworthy subjection of himself and his people of *Leinster* to *Brian*, though her Husband. And the Monarch *Maolmoradh* taking to heart her words, and turning aside to see *Murchoe* the Prince, *Brian*'s eldest Son, playing a game at Chess, advises against him on some draught, whereby the Prince lost his game. Who thereupon fretting and twitting his Uncle this *Leinster* King; told him, that his advice formerly given to the *Danes* at the Battel of *Gleann Mama* lost them the Field. *Maolmoradh* replyes, that his next should prove otherwise. The Prince defies him. *Maolmoradh* withdraws, goes to bed Supperless, and early in the morning unknown posts away to *Leinster*. Where the very next day after his coming, he assembles his chief Noblemen, represents to them what had past, sets them all on fire to renounce their Allegiance to *Brian*, confederate with the *Danes*, and send the Monarch defiance. Then he posts immediatly to *Dublin*, engages the chief of the *Danes* there to send forthwith to the King of *Denmark* for a strong supply to help him against their mortal Enemy *Brian Boraimhe*, and promises them his destruction. And then he prepares at home for War. And then within a little more time

having ſeen twelve thouſand men under the command of two of the King of *Denmark's* Sons, *Carolus Knutus*, and *Andreas*, landed lately at *Dublin*, and both kindly received them, and refreſhed them very well; he without longer delay by a Herauld bid defiance to *Brian*, and challenges him to fight on *Maghnealta* a ſpacious Field at *Cluain-Tarbh* (otherwiſe *Clantarf*) within two miles of *Dublin*. And *Brian*, with what ſpeed he can, joyning together all the Forces of *Mounſter*, *Connaght*, and *Meath* (for thoſe of *Ulſter* he neither ſent unto, nor would ſtay for, as confiding mightily in thoſe he had already out of the three other Diviſions, and haſtning to fight) marches directly to the place appointed, *Maghnealta*, and ſees the Enemy there, prepared to receive him, *viz.* ſixteen thouſand *Danes*, twelve of the new, and four of the old ones, together with all the power of *Leinſter*, headed by their ſaid King *Maolmoradh* the only Author of this Battel. To be ſhort, both Armies drawing near, and viewing fully one another, the fatal ſign is given at laſt, and Trumpets ſound and skies reſound with the terrible ſhouts of both ſides, as they cloſed. But *Maolſeachlain* the King of *Meath*, who had been Monarch before *Brian Boraimhe*, and was depoſed to give him place (the only Monarch of *Ireland*, that

from

from the beginning did ſurvive his depoſition.) finding it now his time to be in ſome ſort revenged on *Brian*, ſtands off with his Forces of *Meath* ſo ſoon as the ſignal was given, and continues a meer Spectator during the whole time of the Battel, without joyning with either ſide. And yet notwithſtanding this treacherous carriage of *Maolſeachluin*, (for it can be term'd no better, though after this Fight was over, he recovered the Monarchy by it, and was the laſt Monarch of the *Mileſian* Race obeyed or acknowledged as ſuch univerſally throughout the Kingdom) yet I ſay, notwithſtanding it, the valorous undaunted Prince *Murchoe*, eldeſt Son of *Brian Boraimhe*, having perſuaded his Father to retire into his Tent by reaſon of his great age (for he was now fourſcore and eight years old) behaved himſelf with his *Momonian* and *Conaçian* Forces ſo bravely, and made ſuch and ſo many furious impreſſions on every ſide into the main Battalions of the Enemies, that although neither courage, nor dexterity, nor ambition, nor glory, nor revenge, nor deſpair, propoſed unto them reſpectively, were wanting to make the *Daniſh* and *Lagenian* Forces withſtand him a very long time, and ſell the Victory at a very dear rate; he won the Field at laſt, or rather indeed his Father and his Army won it after

his death. For this renowned Prince was kill'd in the Battel. And, which is far more ſtrange, the Father himſelf *Brian Boraimhe* the Monarch, now after the Field had been clearly gain'd, and the remainder of the Enemy ſcattered into the four Winds, was kill'd in his own Tent by one *Bruaodor* a *Dane*, who in the general Rout leading a party after him was forc'd to fly that way where the Monarch's Tent was pitch'd. Whereinto, as he paſs'd by, entring, and ſeeing the Monarch whom he had formerly known, he ſlew him; though himſelf and his followers were preſently cut in pieces by thoſe that purſued them.

Of the Monarchs ſide, beſides himſelf and his Son the Prince, were kill'd in this Battel, ſeven little Kings, moſt of the other Nobility both of *Mounſter* and *Connaught*, and 4000 of inferiour degree. But of the other ſide were kill'd, firſt the King of *Leinſter* himſelf, *Molmoradh mhac Murchoe* (the Challenger of *Brian* to this Battel) with his chief Nobles, and 3000 common Souldiers: then of the *Danes*, the two Sons of the King of *Denmark*, all their great Nobility, 6700 of the Souldiers newly come with them, and of the old *Danes*, that were before their coming to *Ireland*, 4000 more: in all of both ſides, 17000 ſeven hundred, beſides Princes

and

and other Noble men. It was fought in the year of Christ 1034. *Apr.* 22. on good *Friday.*

After this Battel we hear but little of the *Danes* in *Ireland.* Only that the foresaid *Maolseachluin* (who now the second time succeeded in the Monarchy for nine years more until his death) took *Dublin* the next year, sack'd it, burnt it, and killed in it all those *Danes* that escaped from *Clantarff.* That soon after this again, *i. e.* in the Sovereignty of this same *Maolseachluin*, *Huaghaire mhac Duinling mhac Tuathil* King of *Leinster* (a man of another mind, race and interest than *Molmoradh mhac Murchoi* was) gave a mighty overthrow (and it the very last given) to *Siteric* the Son of *Aomlaibh*, and the *Danes* of *Dublin:* who, it seems, after the Battel of *Clantarff*, and the burning of *Dublin* next year by *Maolseachluin*, had once more recruited from the Isle of *Man*, and other Islands possess'd as yet by the *Danes*; but were now finally destroyed in *Ireland* by the said new King of *Leinster.* And lastly, as *Hackluyt* reports in his Chronicle, and so does *Hanmer* too, that in the Reign of *Muirchiortach mhac Brien*, who was the fourth after *Brian Boraimhe*, *Magnus*, then King of *Denmark*, would needs venture the attempting *Ireland* once more, to recover what his Predecessors held

held there; but that landing with part of his Fleet before the greater part of them came up, he was set upon immediately by the Countrey people and kill'd, and his Fleet understanding it return'd presently from whence they came.

SECT. II.

SECT. II.

The Irish *for* 2600 *years a free Nation. They were never subject to, nor so much as invaded by the* Romans. *Their Political Government, or three Great Councils, of* Teamhvuir, *(alias* Tarach*)* Eumhna, *and* Cruachain. *The first, a Triennial Parliament. It's Laws, Feastings, and other Ceremonies. The strict examination therein of their publick Acts and Monuments. What of that nature done in the great Parliament under* Laogirius; *St.* Patrick *himself being one of the Examiners. What matters debated in the Councils of* Eumhna *and* Cruachain. *The Titles of Duke, Marquess, Earl, Baron, Knight, not in use with them: as neither in* Scotland *till* William *the* Conqueror's *time. Their* Leinster *Militia, called* Fiona Eirionn, *commanded by* Fionn mhac Cuuail *as General of it.* Hector Boethius *and Hanmer corrected. Their other Militia in* Mounster, *by name* Dal-Gheafs. *Their celebrated Learning, after their Conversion to Christianity. Their four chief Universities: whereof* Ardmagh *had* 7000 *Scholars at one time. Their wonderful Sanctity,* i. e. *the prodigious Numbers*

bers of their holy Monks *and* Nuns, *under S.* Patrick *firſt, and next under the great Abbot* Conghall, *alias* Congellus. *This Abbot in perſon founded and governed the Monaſteries both of* Beanchuir *in* Ulſter, *and* Bangor *in* Wales *near* Weſt-Cheſter: his *Diſciples, thoſe of* Lindisfarn *in* England, Luxeu *in* Burgundy, Bobie *in* Italy, *&c. They converted ſeveral foreign Countreys. But* Scotland *particularly was converted by* Columb Cille. *A ſpecial priviledge given him and his Succeſſors the Abbots of* Hy.

AND ſo by this time I think enough is ſaid of the Warlike Spirit and Valour of the *ancient Iriſh* for ſo many Ages of the World, until that time which was near the Eleventh Century of Chriſtian Religion. For as yet the infinite goodneſs, patience and mercy of God, expecting ſtill their amendment, reſtrain'd his Juſtice from bereaving them utterly of that Virtue, that maſculine bold Heroick Spirit I mean, which preſerv'd them ſo long, even well nigh ſix and twenty hundred years a free Nation, independent of any other: unſubdued, undiſturb'd, uninvaded otherwiſe, and no longer, nor no oftner, nor with other ſucceſs or iſſue than we have ſeen. Not even the old *Roman* Empire it ſelf, whoſe conquering Eagles made all the reſt,

reſt, at leaſt of the *Weſtern* World, and among them, all, even the very moſt unacceſſible remote receſſes of Great *Brittain*, a prey to their uncircumſcribed ambition; having never at any time had either footing, or command, or tribute, or acknowledgment in *Ireland*. Though we knowwell enough out of Hiſtory (*a*) what a longing they had to be doing there: at leaſt to ſee that Countrey and people, which dared receive continually ſo many fugitives (*b*) from their power in *Spain* and *France*, and Great *Brittain* and protect them to their face. But I am not to dwell or dilate on this Subject, nor indeed on any other concerning that Nation: the method I preſcribed my ſelf and bulk of this Treatiſe not allowing it.

(a) *Tacitus in vit. Agric.*

(b) *Cum ſuum Romani Imperium undique propagaſſent, multi proculdubio ex Hiſpania, Gallia, & Britannia huc ſe receperunt, ut iniquiſſimo Romanorum jugo colla ſubducerent.* Camden, Hibern.

11. What I would in the next place reflect upon, and as briefly as I well can, is ſomewhat of their Policy or Government, their ſtanding Militia, their Learning, and their Sanctity, when they were a happy flouriſhing people before the firſt Invaſion of the *Danes*. For their Government, beſides a Monarch, five Provincial Kings, and in proceſs

of

of time, especially since the first *Danish* War, many other much lesser Kings, they had anciently three great Councils held in three several places: the Council of *Taragh*, the Council of *Eamhna*, and the Council of *Cruachain*: all three called in their language *Feis Teambrach*, *Feis Eamhna*, and *Feis Cruachain*. The first was a *Triennial* Parliament of all the Estates assembled at *Taragh* in *Meath*, at the Monarch's pleasure, about that time of year, which we call now *All Saints*. It was ordained first by *Ollamh Fodhla* the Twentieth Monarch after *Herimon*, to be thenceforth from time to time perpetually observ'd in after Ages. It was death, without mercy, without any hopes of it, without any power in the Monarch himself to extend it to any person whatsoever, either to assault, or wound, or strike or draw upon any man attending that great Assembly, or to be convicted either of robbery or stealth, during the Session of it. It was called only for making Laws, reforming general abuses, reviving their Antiquities, Genealogies, Chronicles, and either restoring or preserving peace and love among 'em by feasting together for seven days in one great House. And therefore it is notable what Dr. *Keting* has in the Reign of *Tuathall Teachtmair* the Monarch, of the manner of their meeting and sitting at these Feasts. That the

Room

Room prepared to receive them all being made of purpoſe, tho very long yet narrow, with Tables ſet on both ſides and both ends, and all things ready for the Entertainment: and then the Room cleared of all perſons whatſoever, only the Marſhal, the chief Herauld or Chronicler, and a Horn-winder excepted: and then at three convenient little diſtances of time, this Horn-winder calling to Dinner by the winding of his Horn; at the firſt of 'em, all the Eſquires or Shield-bearers to the Princes and Nobility came to the door, and there delivered their Shields to the Marſhal, who by the Heraulds direction hung them up in their due places over the Tables prepared of the right hand ſide for the Eſtates. At the ſecond, in like manner all the Target-bearers to the Generals and other great Commanders of the *Militia* delivered up theirs, and were on the other ſide of the Houſe placed orderly as the former. But at the third, all the Kings, Princes, Eſtates, Military men, and other chief Gentry came in and ſat down, each one under his own Coat of Arms blazon'd on his Shield, without any diſorder about precedency, or confuſion of places; no man ſitting on the outſide of the Table, nor any Woman at all admitted: the Table in one end being for the Antiquaries, and in the other for other Officers.

But

But to pass over this matter of Ceremony, Herauldry and Feasting, what I chiefly note in their procedure, when they sat in Council or Parliament, is their extraordinary care, diligence and exactness in providing, That all their monuments of Antiquity, their Genealogies, Cronicles and Records should have nothing foisted into them, nothing at all inserted, but what was true and certain by the approbation of a special Committee of the most skilful in such matters. That all such, and only such National Concerns, Annals, or other matters, which they approv'd, after their diligent search and examination of them, should be there in publick written in the Kings or Monarchs book of Royal Records called the *Psalter of Taragh*: and whatever was repugnant to that Book, should have no credit. That, in prosecution of this great care of their National Monuments, it was, that when they became Christians, a Parliament of all their Estates both Temporal and Spiritual (held under the Monarch *Laogirius* at the same Royal Habitation of the Monarchs, *Taragh*) deputed three Kings, three Bishops, and three of their most singular Antiquaries (even Saint *Patrick* himself there present being one of these Bishops, as the other two were *Benuin* and *Caraioch*; and the three Kings, the foresaid *Laogirius* Monarch of *Ireland*,

land, tho never converted, *Daire* King of *Ulster*, and *Cork mbac Luighioch* King of *Mounster*; the Antiquaries also being *Dubthach*, *Fergus*, and *Boſſe mbac Trichim*) to review and reduce into order all their National Chronicles. That this Committee of Nine having done so with great pains and industry, they reduced all into one Book fairly written. That the keeping of this original Book, was intrusted after, by the Estates to the Prelats: and those Prelats, for its perpetual preservation, caused several authentick Copies of it to be fairly engross'd: whereof some are extant to this day, and several more faithfully transcribed out of them; their Names (taken from the places where they were for many Ages kept) being the *Book of Ardmach*, The *Psalter of Cashell*, The *Book of Gleann da Loch*, &c.

Whereunto I may add, as not very impertinent in this place, That the *Irish* Nation were all along from the beginning so addicted to, and had so great an esteem of the knowledg of their own Genealogies & Histories, that anciently there have been in *Ireland* above two hundred chief Annalists or Historians, by place and office such, who had Estates in Land set apart and assign'd them and to their Issue after

Keting in his Preface.

ter them in perpetuity for attending wholly that Calling and ſtudy of it; every great Lord having a peculiar Sept of them to record and tranſmit to Poſterity what eſpecially concern'd him and thoſe deriving from him; beſides what concern'd the Nation in general; yet all continually ſubject to the foreſaid Triennial Scrutiny in Parliament. A care of Antiquity and Hiſtory, I think, not to be match'd by any other Nation in *Europe*. And as they took that care to provide for their Antiquaries, ſo they did alſo, as *Cambden* hath obſerved, the like for their Poets, Phyſicians, and Harpers, by aſſigning them Eſtates in Land to live independently of others; only the duty they owed their great Lords excepted ſtill.

Britannia, tit. Ireland. p. 140.

In the two other Councils of *Eumhna* and *Cruachain*, the matters principally debated by the Nobility, Gentry, and other members of them were the concerns of all the Artificers, Tradeſmen, and Handicrafts-men of *Ireland*, Smiths of all ſorts, Carpenters, Maſons, &c. whereof a great number was ſummon'd to be at each Aſſembly. Out of which number theſe two Councils did cull out ſixty the moſt eminent in their profeſſions, and gave them authority all over the Kingdom, allowing them diſtinct juriſdictions, to

to reform all the abuſes of their ſeveral Callings, and ſuſpend ſuch as they thought fit from exerciſing them. So that none could ſet up or continue any Mechanical occupation but with their Licence, after they had examined and made trial of the ſufficiency or inſufficiency of the party concern'd. Theſe Maſters ſo authoriſed they call'd in their Language *Goldannuigh*; which imports *omniſcient or skilful in all Mechanicks.*

So much of their Councils and Government as to Civil Affairs in the more ancient times both of Paganiſm and Chriſtianity. Of their Judicatures, and Judges, whom they call *Brehons*, he that pleaſe may ſee very ſingular and wonderful things related of them in D. *Keting*, (*a*) even when they were Pagans,

(*a*) Reign of *Laoghaire* the Monarch in St. *Patricks* days.

But if you deſire to know the ſeveral degrees of their Nobility, or the different Titles of Honour among thoſe *Iriſh* Noblemen who ſat in their Parliaments or Councils: I can only anſwer, beſides what is ſaid already, that in *Ireland* until the *Engliſh* Conqueſt, they had none of our Titles, that is, not thoſe either of Duke, or Marqueſs, Earl, Viſcount, Baron, or Knight (only ſuch Knights as they called *Niadha-Nask*, and may

be called by us in *Engliſh Knights of the Chain*, or in *Latin Milites Torquati*, from a certain kind of Chain put about their Necks): as no more in truth had *Scotland* any ſuch Titles before the year of *Chriſt* 1074. when *Malcolm* III. Reigned there, and *William* I. ſurnamed the *Baſtard* and *Conquerour* had ſubdued all intirely here in *England*. Concerning which cuſtom of not uſing any ſuch Titles of Honour, in *Scotland* particularly, as likewiſe concerning the other of the Language ſpoken till that time in the very Court of *Scotland*, (though as well the one as the other may ſeem foreign to this place:) this following Note, in *Samuel Daniel*'s words, may give you further ſatisfaction.

'As in the Court of *England*, the *French* 'Tongue became more generally ſpoken, '(*viz. in William the Conquerours Reign, for of* '*that time this Author ſpeaks here*) ſo in that 'of *Scotland*, did the *Engliſh*, by reaſon of 'the multitude of this Nation, attending 'both the Queen and her Brother *Edgar*, and 'daily repairing thither for their ſafety, and 'combination againſt the common Enemy. 'Of whom divers, abandoning their Native 'diſtreſſed Countrey, were by the bounty of 'that King preferred: and there planted, 'ſpread their off-ſpring into many Noble Families,

'milies, remaining to this day. The Titles 'for distinguishing degrees of Honour, as of 'Duke, Earl, Baron, Rider, or Knight, were 'then (as is thought) first introduced: and 'the nobler sort began to be called by the 'title of their *Seigneuries* (according to the '*French* manner) which before bare the name 'of their Father, with the addition of *Mac*, 'after the fashion of Ireland. *Sam. Dan.* in 'the Reign of *William* I. pag. 34. Where, in the Margin, he hath this further observation, that *Scotland before this time generally spake a kind of* Irish.

12. As to their constant ordinary *Militia*, what it was in their times of peace we find in the Reign of *Cormock Ulfada* (the Son of *Airt*) King of *Ireland* a little after the Birth of *Christ*. For then it consisted of three Battalions or Divisions, of equal number each, in all nine thousand men, under several Commanders, and *Fionn mhac Cuual* their General; who was neither *Gyant*, nor *Dane*, nor other Foreigner, as no more were any of his Commanders, Captains or Souldiers. He was himself but of the ordinary stature of other men; though *Hector Boethius* makes him a *Giant* of 15 Cubits high: and he was an *Irish* man both by birth and descent lineally come, of his Mothers side, in the fifth Generation, from *Nuatha Neacht* King

of *Leinſter*, and ſo upward all along from *Herimon*; whatever is reported by *D. Hanmer* (*a*) to the contrary, in his Hiſtory of *Ireland*. *Hanmer* might as well have made the *Cappadocian* Knight a *Saxon*, as *Fionn* the ſon of *Cuual*, a *Dane*. And ſo might *Hector Boethius* have as well turn'd *Huon* of *Burdeaux*, or *Amadis de Gaul*, or the *Knight of the Sun*, or the *Seven Champions of Chriſtendom*, and ſuch like Romances into the very trueſt Hiſtories, as the Fables written of *Fionn mhac Cuual*, and the Captains under him called *Fiona Erionn*, only to entertain leaſurable hours and Fancy. For the *Iriſh* had their Romances too for divertiſement. They had *Bruoidhuin in Chaorbuinn*, and the Battel of *Fionthraghadh* (or *Fentra*, as *Hanmer* calls it) and the ſtory of *Gilladeackuir*'s Jade, and many other ſuch, and ſo among theſe, ſome alſo of *Fionn mhac Cuual* and his Commanders. Which yet every one of common ſenſe among the *Iriſh* could diſtinguiſh from their Chronicles and other Monuments of real ſtory. In ſhort, theſe Gentlemen *Fionn mhac Cuual* and *Fiona Erionn* were the ſtouteſt and braveſt fighting men of their time in *Ireland*. And they were kept in conſtant pay by the Monarch, Princes and people of that Kingdom, to guard the Coaſts

(*a*) Page 24.

Coasts from abroad, and keep all at home quiet. With power nevertheless, that if the case required it, either to suppress a Rebellion, or withstand an Invasion, or succour *Dal Riadas* in *Scotland*, the said General *Fionn mhac Cunal* might make up the standing Forces to seven Battalions, that is, one and twenty thousand men in all. And this is the naked truth concerning these *Fiona Erionn* so famous in their Generation. On which truth many fabulous stories have been superstructed.

To them may be added those other brave Warriors, whether of a later or earlier Generation (but as to the reality of things for ought I know, of as much bravery and Valour) called *Dal-Gheasse*. These were the standing Militia of those fortunate successful Kings of *Mounster*, *Ceallaghan*, and *Brian Boraimhe* in the second *Danish* War, and the only *Gens d' Armes* about their persons, and continued to be so to the succeeding Kings of *Mounster*, and *Leathe Mogh*, who were Monarchs of *Ireland*, at least bore that Title, three of them in succession, after the death of that *Maolseachluin*, who immediatly succeeded *Brian Boraimhe*. What number these Valiant men *Dal-Gheasse* did make, I cannot find. But see them all along represented for incomparable Warriors, till being over-power'd at last by the King of *Connaght* and *Leathe Cuinn*,

and presumed Monarch, *Turlagh More O Connor*, they were utterly destroyed a little before the English Conquest, and with them the Kingdom of *Mounster* extinguish'd. For this by that Monarch was divided in two, and continued so till the English aboliſh'd them both.

13. Of their Learning, Hiſtorians make no mention till after their converſion to Chriſtianity. Which Converſion, if we ſpeak of it as to the generality of *Ireland*, was begun by Saint *Patrick* their Apoſtle, as we have ſeen before, early in the fifth Century, that is in the year 431. upon his ſecond landing in that Countrey, and compleated by him within threeſcore and one years more. For ſo long he lived carrying on that holy Work, though he had been full threeſcore and one aged upon this ſecond landing of his when he began it.

About this time all the Weſtern and Southern parts too of the *Roman* Empire being over-run by the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Huns*, *Franks*, and other barbarous partly *German*, partly *Scythick* Nations, and conſequently all kind of Learning for the matter deſtroyed by them where ever they ſet footing: and the little remainders of the learned Contemplative men retiring ſtill from the noiſe of Arms: and finding themſelves no where on the Continent, and

as

as little in Great *Britain* at reſt or in ſafety: many of them at laſt paſſed over to *Ireland*. That is, to a Countrey, where, as they were told for certain (and ſo it was indeed) the *Romans* never challeng'd any right: and conſequently neither could the Barbarians on account of ſuch right pretend any quarrel to it; and yet a Countrey to admiration religious and holy. This of all likelihood was one of the cauſes or means whereby *Ireland* began ſuddenly to flouriſh above any Countrey of *Europe* at that time in Learning. Beſides, and to ſpeak without likelihood, but by the authority of good Authors for matters of *Fact*, their bleſſed Apoſtle St. *Patrick* himſelf at his coming thither to convert them in the aforeſaid year, brought with him, beſides other Clerks, in his own Company thirty Biſhops whom himſelf had in his Journey through foreign parts gathered together, and before his ſhipping for *Ireland*, and for that miſſion of purpoſe conſecrated: becauſe he foreſaw the Harveſt would be very great, and therefore he needed many Workmen. So affirmeth an ancient *French* Author of good repute *Henricus Altiſiodorenſis*, (*c*) who flouriſh'd in the Emperour *Carolus Calvus*'s Reign. Moreover, the *Iriſh* Chronicles tell us, that he alſo

(*c*) *Vitæ S. Germani*, cap. 168.

ſo brought along with him all thoſe of *Cinidodb Scuit*, or *Scottiſh* (that is *Iriſh*) Nation, whom he met abroad any where that were Chriſtians. So here you may clearly ſee between theſe Biſhops, Clerks, and other Chriſtians, the firſt Seminary of that great Learning in *Ireland* then, when all the other Weſtern Kingdoms and Provinces were grown illiterate, barbarous, rude. However, or whatever the cauſes or the Teachers of that Learning in *Ireland* were (beſides theſe Biſhops and Clerks, who no man will doubt but they were at leaſt the Chief Inſtructors in holy Scripture and all matters of Divinity: as were alſo, next unto them, thoſe other Biſhops conſecrated by S. *Patrick* at home in *Ireland*, during the time of his Apoſtleſhip, even 355. in number (ſays *Nennius*) that is, one for every two Churches founded by him in that Countrey, and thoſe 3000 Prieſts (*Jocelin* ſays 5000) likewiſe that were not Biſhops, all of them every one conſecrated by himſelf in this Kingdom:) it is confeſſed of all hands, and venerable *Bede* (*a*) of old, and *Cambden* (*b*) of late, are ſufficient vouchers for it, That in thoſe dayes the *Saxons* flowed over into *Ireland* as to the Mart of good Literature. And that, when

(*a*) *Hiſtor. Anglic.* l. 3. c. 4, 5. 19. & l. 4. c. 25.

(*b*) *Britan.* pag. 730. *edit. London. in* Fol. *an.* 1607.

when any was wanting here from home, it came to be a Proverb, *He is gone to* Ireland *to be bred.* Pursuant hereunto is that Distich in the life of *Sulgenus* (who flourish'd about 700 years since)

Exemplo patrum commotus amore legendi,
Ivit ad Hibernos sophia mirabile claros.

Besides all the Irish Chronicles tell us of the four great Universities in *Ireland*, *Ardmagh*, *Cashel*, *Dun-da-Leathghlass*, and *Lismore*; not to mention many other Colledges of lesser note elsewhere. And then I think seven thousand Scholars at one time, in one of these Universities, to wit, *Ardmagh*, (c) is a considerable evidence how Learning did flourish at that time in *Ireland*. To all which may be added, that they were the *Irish* of those days, who gave a beginning abroad, if not to the Schools of *Oxford*, (for I have an Author by me that says they did so even to these) yet certainly to those of *Paris* and *Pavia* (g): yea and to many other great Colleges of Learning in foreign parts; or the most famous Monasteries of *Europe* then, that is of *France* and *Germany*, and *Italy*, have not been at any time reputed Colleges of Learning; which yet we know, and shall presently see they have, and have indeed equally both of Learning and Sanctity been reputed

(c) *Manusc. of* Kering. *Reign of* Conchuuair Mhic Donochoe.

(g) *Monach. Sangal. de Gest. Car. Mag. c.* 1. *apud Canis. Tom.* 1. *Antiq. Lect.*

puted the chief Schools in thoſe parts. Finally, both *Cambden* (*d*) and *Spencer* (*e*) acknowledge that from *Ireland* our Fore-fathers in *Great Brittain*, the Ancient *Saxons*, or *Engliſh*, learned the very form and manner of framing their characters for writing.

(*d*) Supra.

(*e*) *View of* Ireland, *or Dialogue between* Irenæus *and* Eudoxus, *pag.* 29.

14. But if their Learning was great (as in thoſe Ages) from the year of Chriſt, 431. or ſoon after, to the year 820. when the Heathen *Danes* and *Norvegians* firſt invaded them, it was eſteem'd to be: the ſanctity of thoſe among them who gave themſelves to a religious life, was yet much more admirable, as their numbers were almoſt beyond belief in theſe our days. And yet *Cambden*, that excellent Antiquary was convinc'd of both. Verily *Hieric* of *Auxer* (otherwiſe in Latin *Henricus Altiſiodorenſis*, whom I mentioned before) hath 800 years ſince written, (*f*) that S. *Patrick* having converted *Ireland*, did ſo prevail with the Princes and People thereof, that he obtained a tenth of all the Lands, Goods, Cattle, and Perſons of the whole Kingdom to be dedicated by them to God; the Men to be Monks, and the Women Nuns, forſaking all worldly joys moſt willingly for a religious life: and that every where anſwerably

(*f*) *Vit. S.* Germani, *c.*174. *Jocel.* vit. S. *Pat. c.*174.

ſwerably to the Lands and other goods devoted ſo to God, he built Monaſteries apart, the one half for Men, and the other for Women. From whence it came to paſs within a very little time (ſays another ancient Author of great credit, *Jocelinus* the Monk, in his life of S. *Patrick*) c. 174. 'that there was not a Wilder-'neſs, nor corner, nor place ſo remote any 'where in the whole Iſland, but was repleniſhed with perfect Monks and Nuns; in 'ſo much that *Ireland* came to be called then 'by a ſpecial name, *The Iſland of Saints*. For 'ſays he) all thoſe religious perſons lived ac-'cording to the rule given them by S. *Patrick*, 'in perfect contempt of all earthly things, de-'ſire of celeſtial only, mortification of their 'fleſh, and quitting of their own proper will, 'equal to the Monks of *Egypt*, both in merit 'and number. Beſides theſe teſtimonies, tho very many more of the ancient Writers of all Nations in Europe might be quoted; it will be ſufficient to quote S. *Bernard* only, in the life written by him of S. *Malachias*, *cap.* v. where he relates that *Ireland ſent forth whole ſwarms of Saints* into other parts of the world.

And therefore I need not add but little more upon this ſubject than the ſenſe of *Cambden*, and that in his own words, as they are given by his Tranſlator, *Philemon Holland*. 'The

Britannia. tit. Ireland. p. 67.

'Iriſh

'Irish Scholars of *Patrick* (says he) profited 'so notably in Christianity, that in the Age 'next ensuing, *Ireland* was termed *Sanctorum* '*Patria*, *The native Coun-* 'try of Saints; and the 'Scottish* Monks in *Ire-* 'land and *Brittain* highly 'excell'd for their holiness 'and learning; yea, and 'sent out whole flocks of 'most devout men into 'all parts of *Europe*, who were the first Foun- 'ders of *Luxeu Abbey* in *Burgundy*, of *Bobie* 'Abbey in *Italy*, of *Wirtzburg Abbey* in *Franck-* 'land, of S. *Gallus* in *Sweitzerland*, of *Malmes-* 'bury, *Lindisfern*, and many other Mona- 'steries in *Britain*: For out of *Ireland* came 'Celius Sedulius a Priest, *Columba*, *Columbane*, 'Colman, *Aidan*, *Gallus*, *Kilian*, *Maidulph*, 'Brendan, and many other celebrated for their 'holy life and learning. Of these Monks is 'Hieric of *Auxerres* to be understood, when he 'writeth thus to the Emperour *Charls* the *Bald*, '*What should I speak of* Ireland, *which setting* 'light by the dangers of the Sea, flitteth all of it 'well near with whole flocks of Philosophers unto 'our shores? Of whom so many as are more skil- 'ful and learned than the rest, do voluntarily banish 'themselves to attend dutifully on the wise Solo- 'mon, *and be at his command.*

* *See before, how at that time, by the name* Scottish, *were understood only the* Irish, *because as yet* Ireland *was called* Scotia Major.

Then

'Then (says he, I mean *Cambden*, delivering his further judgment, and continuing his relation) this Monastical profession, although 'but then newly come up, was far different in 'those days from that of our time. They desired to be that indeed which they were 'named to be: they were far from colourable 'dealing or dissembling. Erred they in any 'thing? It was through simplicity, not through 'lewdness, much less of wilful obstinacy. As 'for wealth, and these worldly things, they so 'so highly contemned them, that they did not 'only not seek after, but also refused the same, 'tho they were offered unto them descended 'by inheritance. For a notable Apophthegm 'was that of *Columbane* (a Monk of *Ireland*) 'who, as the Abbot *Walafride* writeth, *When* 'Sigebert, *King of the* Frankners, *dealt very* '*very earnestly with him, and that by way of many* '*large and fair promises, that he should not depart* 'out of his Kingdom; answered him in the same 'sort as *Eusebius* has reported of *Thaddeus*, name-'ly, *That it became not them to embrace other mens* 'riches, *who for Christs sake had forsaken their* 'own. Hitherto *Cambden*. who elsewhere * tells us, that we must not * p. 144. wonder at the austerity of those ancient *Irish* Monks in their generation, that is, during those primitive ages of Christianity in *Ireland*, tho nothing indeed can be more

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wonderful than what is written of them in that kind. For (says he) in very late times, *Such as gave themselves to Religion there, did mortifie their flesh even to a miracle, by watching, praying, and fasting.*

And verily *Cambdens* relation both of the sanctity and prodigious numbers too of the *Irish* Monks in those first ages of Christianity in *Ireland*, before the *Danish* Invasion is abundantly confirm'd by the *Irish* Chronicles in Dr. *Keting* (*b*) where he tells us that the holy Abbot *Comghall* (who about the end of the first, and beginning of the second century of Christian Religion in *Ireland*, built the famous Monastery of *Beannchuir* in *Ulster*) had 20000 Monks cloistered in several Monasteries under his own government. Which is the more credible, because S. *Bernard*, six hundred years agoe, in his life of S. *Malachias*, Archbishop of *Ardmagh*, and sometime Abbot and Restorer of *Beannchuir*, who died with him at *Clara Vallis* in *France*, reporteth, * that this Monastery, under the first Founder of it, the blessed *Comghall* (or, as the *Latins* call him, *Congellus*) was the most noble head of many Monasteries, and fruitful Mother of many thousands of holy Monks:

(*b*) *Reign of* Louis *the Son of* Laogirius, *Son to* Nial *the Great. The* Irish *call him* Lugha, *mhac* Laoghaire, *mhic* Neill Naoighiallaoi.

* *Cap.* 5.

Monks. That one by name *Luanus*, a Son of that holy Congregation of *Beannchuir*, was himſelf alone Founder of a hundred Monaſteries in other places. That from thence flowed ſuch a prodigious inundation of Saints, all over *Ireland*, *Scotland*, and other foreign Nations in thoſe days, as we have ſpoken of before out of *Cambden*. That *Columbanus*, who came to *France*, being another Son of that holy place, founded the Cloyſter of *Luxeu* in *Burgundy*, in which the number of Religious men was ſo great, that both day and night the Quire was repleniſh'd with Singers, praiſing God perpetually by turns, even all the 24 hours throughout the whole year, without intermiſſion of one ſole moment of time. That *Beannchuir* it ſelf, the happy Mother of ſo bleſſed an Iſſue, had likewiſe of her own peculiar Conventuals at home conſtantly praiſing and ſerving God, ſuch a number, that on a time ſome foreign Pirats Landing there unexpectedly (for 'twas upon the Sea-ſide) to ſpoil and burn it, as they did both, found nine hundred Monks in the place: whom they ſlew, and burnt altogether moſt inhumanely, as the Hiſtories of that Countrey tell. (Which Martyrdom, and firſt deſtruction of this Monaſtery happen'd, ſays *Keting*, in the Reign of *Ceanfolae*, Monarch or King of *Ireland*. That is, as I take it, about a hundred and fifty years before the

the first Invasion of the *Danes.*) Finally that *Malachias*, about 400 years after this first destruction of *Beannchuir*, and a second too by the *Danes*, restored it once more to its ancient religious dedication to God, tho not to the like number of Monks, and was himself Abbot of it, before his being Bishop either of *Connor*, *Ardmagh*, or *Down*. I add in the last place *Down*, because this wonderful Servant of God *Malachias*, against the will of all others resign'd *Ardmagh*, and chose the poor Bishoprick of *Down* to retire unto, of purpose to cultivate the Barbarous Inhabitants hereof, as he had successively those of the two former.

To illustrate with a few more particulars this relation given of the memorable Abbot *Congellus*, I can out of *Hanmer*'s Chronicle, add (passing over his vain attempt to challenge him for his own Countreyman, and make him at least of *British* blood and birth. But he soon gives over his claim in the very next page, where on better grounds he confesses) that *Congellus*, not far from *Westchester*, founded the Monastery of *Bangor*, which then among the *Brittons* was call'd the *Colledg of Christian Philosophers*, and was himself the first Abbot of it, in the days of King *Arthur*, *An. Christi* 530. That he also founded the famous Monastery

Hanmer, p. 62. and 53.

naſtery of *Benchor*, as he calls it, but the *Iriſh Beannchuir*, in the *Ardes* (alias *Altitudo Ultonum*) in *Ulſter*, which had 3000 Monks, and bred and train'd up many ſingular and eminent men of Learning, not only *Iriſh*, but *Brittons*, *Saxons*, and *Scots*, who diſpers'd themſelves far and near into foreign Countreys, and converted and confirmed thouſands in the true faith of Chriſt. That ſeven years after the founding of this Abbey in *Ulſter*, he founded the other near *Cheſter*; but then return'd again to his former in *Ulſter*, where he reſteth in peace. And, beſides other particulars, to conclude all, and acknowledg indeed both the Native Countrey of *Congellus*, and Countrey alſo of his breeding in holineſs, that he was born in *Dal-Naraidh* in *Ulſter* of honourable Parents, bred under Abbot *Fiontan* in *Mounſter*, and then at laſt under *Kieran* at *Cluain-mhac-Noiſe*, &c.

15. I might here enlarge on the Converſion of many Infidel Nations, eſpecially in the North of Great *Britain*, and the *Lower* and *Higher Germany*, by the power of the words and Example of the lives of thoſe wonderful *Iriſh* Monks. But having ſaid enough already on this Head of their Sanctity, I will dilate no further on it. I will not recount any thing, not ſo much as of

St. *Aidam* that holy Biſhop of *Lindisfarn*, and great Inſtructor of King *Oſwald*'s *Saxon* Subjects in Chriſtianity: (*g*) nor much neither of *Columb-Cille* himſelf. Only of this later give me leave to deliver a few things. As 1. That he was born in *Ulſter*, and the Son of *Feilimidh*, the Son of *Fergus*, the Son of *Conal Gulbhann*, the Son of *Niall* the Great, ſurnamed alſo *Naoighiallach*, Monarch of *Ireland*. Which I note againſt ſome *Scottiſh* Authors, that contrary to all known truth, would make him a *Scotchman*. 2. That his proper name received in Baptiſm was *Criombthan*: and the name of *Columb-Cille* was given him by Children, his Play-fellows; who becauſe of his Dove-like ſimplicity, and becauſe when he came to them upon a certain day, once every week, where they with great longing expected him, he always came to them immediatly out of the Church or Monaſtery wherein he was educated (at *Dubghlaiſſa* in *Tirconel*) therefore they, ſo ſoon as he appear'd to them, cried forth unanimouſly with one voice, *Columb ne Cille*. Whereof his Inſtructors taking notice at laſt, thought it the will of God he ſhould be ſo called thence-forward by all others too, even as the innocent Children had already and conſtantly once a week by their joyful acclamations begun to do; theſe

(*g*) *Beda Hiſtor. Eccleſ.* l. 3. c. v. & vi.

thoſe three diſtinct *Iriſh* words importing in *Engliſh* the *Dove of the Church*. For in that Language *Celumb* is a Dove, and *Ceall*, or *Cill* is a Church, Monaſtery, or Cell. And hence it was that *Criomhthan* came to be generally called no more *Criomhthan*, but *Columb-Cille*; the middle word at firſt uſed by the Children, being left out of the compoſition for brevities ſake. 3. That having in his youth dedicated himſelf to a Monaſtick life, and having by ſtupendious mortification arrived to the higheſt pitch of holineſs, he founded the Monaſtery of *Ardmagh*, otherwiſe *Dear-magh*, in Latin *Campus Roborum*, as *Beda* notes. He paſs'd from thence over to *Scotland* in the 43 year of his age, but of Chriſt 565. He Preach'd the Goſpel there with ſo great power, that he converted to Chriſtianity all the *Picts* then inhabiting the more Northern parts of Great *Britain*. He founded here another no leſs famous Abbey in the Iſle of *Hy* (in Latin *Iona*) on which Abbey *Connall mhac Conghvill*, King of *Dal-Rheuda*, not a *Pict*, but an Iriſh *Scot*, beſtowed that whole Iſland, with the Soveraignty thereof to be tranſmitted to all future Abbots of it for ever. He was held in ſuch extraordinary great veneration, both in his life and after his death, that

Beda. l. 3. c. 4.

Keting *in the Reign of*

In quibus omnibus, scilicet Monasteriis, per Hiberniam & Britanniam propagatis ex utroque Monasterio, idem Monasterium Insulanum, in quo ipse requiescit corpore, principatum tenuit. Habere autem solet ipsa Insula Rectorem semper Abbatem presbyterum, cujus juri & omnis Provincia, & ipsi etiam Episcopi ordine inusitato debeant esse subjecti, juxta exemplum primi Doctoris illius, qui non Episcopus, sed presbyter extitit & Monachus. Beda, *ibid.*

that as Venerable *Bede* records it, not only all the Monasteries propagated in *Ireland* or *Britain*, from either of those two Abbeys founded by himself, were subordinate to this latter of *Hy*, wherein he lived longest, and died at last, being 77 years aged: nor only all the whole Province: but even the very Bishops themselves, contrary to the custom of the Church in other Countreys, were subject to the jurisdiction of all the succeeding Abbots thereof, tho Presbyters only by ordination: to wit, according to the primitive pattern of their first Doctor, who was himself no Bishop, but only a Priest and Monk. In fine, he most justly deserved the title which Posterity gave him of the first Converter of the North of *Scotland*, and great Apostle of the *Picts*, as *Cambden* himself calls him. And so he might have call'd him too, the great and chief (if not the first) Instructor in Christianity of all the Irish *Scots*. 4. That although I cannot tell

tell certainly what Venerable *Bede* means here (in the Marginal Note) by his (*omnis Provincia*) *whole Province*; that is, whether he mean all the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as it lies now extended, and as then comprehending all the several petty Kingdoms, both of *Scots* and *Picts* (for by the Battel fought in *Scotland* at *Monadoire*, in the Reign of *Diarmuid mhic Cearbheoil*, King of *Ireland*, by the Family of the *Neals*, against the *Picts*, we understand this Nation of *Picts* had several petty Kings at that time: being they lost in this one Battel, together with the Victory, seven of them kill'd in the place by those *Irish*, formerly planted there;) or whether he mean the Kingdom of the *Irish* in *Scotland*, or (which is the same thing) of the *Scots* or *Dal-Rheudans* only (all three signifying the same People) or whether only the Dominions of those *Northern Picts*, converted by *Columb*; and there can be no other to be meant by *omnis provincia*, since the Island it self, wherein that Monastery was, exceeded not five English miles in length: yet thus much I can certainly say, that *Keting* tells us in his Reign of *Aodh* (or *Hugh Ainmhiriocb*, Monarch of *Ireland*, that *Columb-Cille*, in his Voyages and Journey to the Parliament, held by this Monarch at *Drom-Ceath*, in that Kingdom, was

all along out of *Scotland*, attended not only by 30 Sub-deacons, 50 Deacons, and 40 Prieſts, but 20 Biſhops alſo, to praiſe God continually, and officiate in divine Offices in his company; whereby we may ſomewhat gueſs at the largeneſs of that Province, whereof Venerable *Bede* does ſpeak here.

SECT.

SECT. III.

The Scene altered. Cauſe of admiration. Bloody horrible feuds begun, encreas'd, multiplied, continued 2600 years. No People on earth ſo implacably ſet upon the deſtruction of one another as the Mileſian Iriſh *were. Above 600 Battels fought between themſelves. A hundred and eighteen Monarchs ſlaughter'd. Fourſcore and ſix of thoſe very men that kill'd them, ſucceeded immediatly in their Thrones. Other ſtrange deaths of ſiveral of them. Of the whole number of 181 Monarchs, not above 29 came to a natural end. The Author of this account. Battels fought by the Monarchs* Caomhaol, Tighearnmhuir, Tuathal Teachtvair *(where ſomewhat of the* Plebeians *25 years War)* Conn Ceadchathach, *alias* Conſtantinus Centibellis, *and* Mogha Nuadhat, *King of* Mounſter. *What* Leath Cuinn, *and* Leatha Mogh *import. The feuds rather inflam'd than allaid under Chriſtianity. Number of main Battels fought, and Monarchs kill'd the firſt 400 years after their Converſion by S.* Patrick. *By two of them, the one betwixt the Monarch* Fearghall, *and* Murcho O Bruin *King of* Leinſter; *the other between the Monarch* Aodh Ollan,

Cilan, *and* Aodha mhac Colgan *King also of* Leinſter, *may be gueſs'd how bloody the reſt were. Foreign Conqueſts, and Plantations neglected all that while. Occaſionally ſomewhat of the Heathen Monarch* Dathi's *Landing in* France *with an Army to purſue* Niall *the Great's example: and of his being kill'd by a Thunderbolt near the* Alps: *and of the ten ſeveral Invaſions of* Scotland *by the* Iriſh Pagans, *and but one (if one) by the Chriſtian* Iriſh. *The Families deſcended from thoſe* Iriſh, *remaining to this day in that Country. A word of thoſe call'd* Engliſh Scots. Columb-Cille *himſelf Author of fighting three of the foreſaid Battels in* Ireland. *The heavy pennance during life, enjoin'd him therefore by S.* Molaiſſe, *and his humble performance of it, and much greater wonders of him. Why the particular of thoſe Battels of* Columb-Cille *mentioned here. The Parliament of* Dromceathe *in his time. Baniſhment of the Poets, one of the three ends it was called for. Great Injuſtice, Cruelty, Pride, &c. inſtanc'd ſeverally in their Monarchs* Tuathal Teuchtvar, *&c.* Nial Naoighiallach, Diarmuid mhac Ceirrbheoil, *and* Aodh mhac Ainmhiriogh. *Some of the Murders and Battels that happened about the end of their fourth Century of Chriſtian Religion particulariz'd.*

Hither-

HItherto I have briefly run over the Antiquity, Martial Exploits, Political Government, or Grand Councils, ordinary Militia, and (after their Converſion to Chriſtianity) the Learning alſo and Sanctity of the *Ancient Iriſh*. And ſo have, I think, delivered in ſhort all the moſt glorious Excellencies recorded of that Nation, eitheir in their own Monuments, or any foreign Hiſtories, that I have ſeen.

16. What follows next, is on the other ſide of the Medal to repreſent unto you not only a mixture of great imperfections with ſo many excellencies, nor only the prevaleney of downright evil men againſt ſo many good, againſt ſo prodigiouſly numerous and great exemplars of virtue living among them, after their being enlightned with the doctrine of ſalvation: but, according to the viciſſitude of all things on earth, the change, and wane, and ſtrange decay, and utter fall at laſt of that People in general from all the glory of their Anceſtors. And this, whether we regard the greatneſs of their former dominion and power abroad, or the more ancient policy of their Government at home, or the ſtupendious fame of their Letters and Holineſs every where in thoſe days of old. Nay, and this alteration too, in every point, as happening to

them even before the *Engliſh* had ſet one foot in their Country under *Henry* II. All which I am to repreſent unto you now, becauſe the order of things, and both title and nature of this Tract require I ſhould. Though I ſhall nevertheleſs do it by ſo much the more briefly, by how much I am leſs inclined to dwell on this ſubject.

However, I muſt confeſs that when I reflect on the moſt authentick Monuments of that Nation, as written by their own moſt ſelect Antiquaries, and believed by themſelves: I am abſorpt in admiration, at the wonderful patience of God with them in particular, above all other People that I have read of, expecting their amendment ſo long, that is, well nigh 3000 years compleat, before he would quite deſtroy them. A period ſo large, that within a far leſs extent of time, his wrath ſubverted utterly the *Aſſyrian*, *Chaldean*, *Median*, *Perſian*, *Macedonian*, *Roman* Empires, and all the Republicks of *Europe* and *Affrie*, and all other Kingdoms or Dominions, how great or how little ſoever any where on earth; whereof we have but the leaſt competent knowledge out of ancient Hiſtory, or other authentick book. And yet he continued ſtill the *Iriſh* Nation and Monarchy beyond that extent of time. And yet 'tis no leſs apparent in their own Chronicles, that according to the judgment

of

of man, they had as little deſerved the mercy of God as any of their Neighbours, or other the deſtroy'd Nations.

For to lay aſide their Idolatry, and all the appendants of it, which yet among them in their time of Paganiſm, were as great and horrible, and provoking of Heaven as any where elſe in the world: and to paſs over alſo thoſe other Immoralities of theirs, how enormous ſoever in the ſight of God, which were nevertheleſs but common to them with other Nations, reputed the moſt civil among men: certainly (if not among Cannibals, or Leſtrigons, or ſuch other Monſters, unworthy to be called men, or at leaſt to be brought in compariſon with any People that make uſe of reaſon, live in ſociety and approve Government) never has any other Nation upon Earth anneer'd the *Mileſian* race (inhabiting *Ireland*) in the moſt unnatural, bloody, everlaſting deſtructive Feuds that have been heard, or can well be imagin'd. Feuds ſo prodigiouſly bloody, that as they were firſt founded, ſo they ſtill encreaſed and continued in blood, even along from the firſt foundation of the *Iriſh* Monarchy in the blood of *Heber*, ſhed in Battel by his Brother *Herimon*, until the ſlaughter of *Muirchiortach mhac Neill* (the laſt reputed Monarch ſaving one) by the hands of *Fearrnibh Fearrmhaighe*, and *O Brian*, or even

until

until the death of *Diarmuid na Ngall* (the laſt King of *Leinſter*) at his Town of *Ferns*. And yet ſuch Feuds as not only had for neceſſary concomitants the greateſt pride, moſt helliſh ambition, and cruelleſt deſires of revenge; but alſo had for no leſs neceſſary conſequents, the moſt horrible Injuſtices, Oppreſſions, Extortions, Rapins, Deſolations of the Countrey, Perfidiouſneſſes, Treaſons, Rebellions, Conſpiracies, Treacheries, Murders: and all this from time to time, for ſix and twenty hundred years, only a very few lucid intervals of the frenzy excepted. Theſe prodigious provocations of Heaven to that exceſſive degree wherein they were National and peculiar to that People only, and the contemplation thereof, is it that, upon return of it, ſuſpends my ſoul in admiration at the patience of God bearing ſo long with them, in particular, above all other Nations, far leſs guilty for ought appears to us in Hiſtory, and much ſooner utterly ſubverted by his revenging hand of juſtice.

Never have we read of any other People in the World ſo implacably, ſo furiouſly, ſo eternally ſet upon the deſtruction of one another, as firſt, The Progenies of *Heber* and *Herimon*: then thoſe two or three other deſcended from *Ire* and *Ithe*, and *Breoghuin*, all of the ſame *Mileſian* ſtock or kinred: and then again the two former: and then laſt of all, the deſcendents

dents of each apart among themſelves, contending for the ſovraignty of the whole Iſland, were. To ſay nothing now of thoſe no leſs bloody contentions of others of them very often about *Provincial*, or even leſſer Kingdoms and Rights, after that either theſe or thoſe petty Kingdoms came up. Never have we heard of any other Countrey on Earth, ſo frequently, ſo miſerably, beyond almoſt all belief afflicted, haraſſed, waſted, turn'd into a Wilderneſs, by the accurſed Pride of her Nobles, Tyranny of her Princes, Rebellion of their Subjects, Fury of her Men at arms, and other Souldiers, Preying, Sacking, Burning all that ſtood over ground in the Provinces invaded by them. Never has either book or man told us of any Region beſides *Ireland*, that beheld ſo many of her beauteous Fields turn'd ruddy, all cover'd with the bloody gore of above 600 Battels fought on 'em ſo cruelly and unnaturally by her own Children of the ſame Language, Lineage, Religious rites, tearing out the lives of one another partly for dominion, and often for meer revenge. Never has the Sun beſtowed his light on any other Land, to behold a hundred and eighteen Monarchs ſlaughter'd by the hands of their own diſloyal Native Subjects; four and twenty of them in Battel, and the reſt by downright Aſſaſſination and Murder. And which is yet more hideous, fourſcore and ſix of them

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ſucceeded immediately in their Regal Thrones by thoſe very men that ſo villanouſly had diſpatch'd them. Nay, and a Brother, and a Son alſo to be in this number: beſides a wicked Siſter too, that by the priviledge of her Sex more finely indeed, but I am ſure no leſs impiouſly adding one more to the former number of Royal Victims; and this of purpoſe to make way for her own Son to mount the Throne, bereav'd of life the Monarch *Criomhthan mhac Fiodhuigh*, her own Brother, with a cup of Poyſon miniſtred by her own hand to him.

I ſay nothing of *Lughac Riamh-Ndearg*, murder'd by himſelf: Nothing of *Aodh Ruadh*, *Diahorba*, *Niall Caille*, thoſe three deſtroy'd by water: Nothing of *Roithſoigh mac Roain*, *Dathi*, *Laoghaire mhac Neill*, or *Lugha mhac Laoghaire*, all four ſtruck dead by Thunderbolts: Nothing of *Cormuck Ulfada*, that was choak'd by the evil ſpirits for not adoring them: Laſtly, nothing of *Tighernmhuir*, long before any of the former, by either good or evil Angels, on a ſudden deſtroy'd, on *Magh Sleachta* in *Letrim*, and together with him three parts of the People of *Ireland* on the ſame Field, and ſame night, (which was our *All-Souls* Eve, and the night of the day we name *All-Saints*, or *All-Hallows*) for their adoring on that very day and place, the deviliſh Idol

ſet

ſet up by him there to be adored as the only God. Of none of all theſe, however ſtrangely kill'd, either by their own hands, or by water or thunder, or inviſible Demons, or other miraculous means, do I take notice here, becauſe none of them was taken away by any other man.

Yet I cannot paſs over without ſpecial note either *Sedhna Fonnarruydgh*, or *Simeon Breac*, two of the number diſpatcht by the hands of men, their own Subjects: Whereof the former was in a moſt barbarous manner, even that of ſtraining his members aſunder, tortur'd to death by the later, who nevertheleſs did ſucceed him next: and this later again in the very ſame manner bereaved of life by *Duach Fionn*, the formers Son, ſucceeding now by a cruel retaliation in the Soveraignty, and ſo tranſmitting to others this particular feud, which tho not by torture, yet by murder continued on ſtill. For the ſame *Duach Fionn* loſt both his Soveraignty and Life by the hands of *Muireadhach Bolgrach*, Son to the above *Simeon Breac*: and this *Muireadhach* alſo both his in like manner to *Euno Dearg*, Son to that very *Duach* now mentioned. Which *Euno* having thus not only ſatisfied his revenge by ſacrificing to his Fathers Ghoſt, but his ambition too by acquiring the Monarchy, and enjoying it twelve years, had the great luck to die a

natural death. I ſay *great luck*, &c. For in ſhort, of ſo vaſt a number of Iriſh Monarchs of the ſole *Mileſian* Race or Conqueſt, as we have ſeen in the beginning of this Treatiſe, in all 181. not above nine and twenty (for ought we know, or I can obſerve by reading over their Lives) came to a natural end. All the reſt of them (beſides a few whoſe deaths, what they were, or how, are not mentioned at all) periſhing as you have ſeen, except only *Nial Gluinndubh*, and *Conghallach mhac Maoilmhithe*, both in two ſeveral Battels kill'd by Foreign Enemies, the *Danes*, in their ſecond War on *Ireland*; unleſs peradventure you may think it fit to except alſo *Brian Boraimhe* from that general rule, upon this ground that he was kill'd by a *Dane*; tho the Battel againſt him was no leſs compoſed of *Iriſh* than *Danes*.

Which account as well of thoſe *Iriſh* Monarchs, as of all the foreſaid prodigious number of Battels fought between the ſeveral contending Parties of that Nation, during their eternal bloody feuds in the long ſucceſſion of ſo many Ages, I have taken the pains by reading over attentively, at leaſt twice or thrice, Dr. *Ketings* Hiſtory, and all the ſeveral Reigns of the ſaid Monarchs, and conſequently all the memorable acts performed or happened in each of them, to give here in brief: that is by ſumming up together what is ſo diſperſedly

diſperſedly given by him in his far more Voluminous work. Which, whoever pleaſe to conſult, may find not only the names and acts, but even the genealogies of all the ſaid Monarchs carried up along to their ſeveral ſtocks; *Heber*, *Herimon*, *Ire*, *Ithe*, and *Breoghain*, the Son of *Bratha*, who dyed in *Spain* long before *Mileſius* himſelf was born. And he ſhall moreover find not only the principal actors in and occaſions of fighting every one of ſo vaſt a number of Battels, and the time or Reign of the Monarch under whom each of them happened; but the particular places or Fields, on which at leaſt one half of them had been fought, and from which each of them reſpectively has its particular denomination.

I ſay *at leaſt one half*, &c. becauſe I find not in *Keting* the Fields or places (by particular name ſet down) either of ſixteen of thoſe 25 Battels fought by *Caomhaol*, youngeſt Son to *Heber*, againſt the Progeny of *Herimon*; or of fourteen of thoſe other 27 Battels, wherein *Tighearnmhuir* that kill'd *Caomhaol*, and thereupon ſucceeding him in the Soveraignty, foil'd both his and all his Fathers Race; or of any, except the firſt of all thoſe hundred and five of *Tuathal Teachtvair* fought by him and the Nobility in five and twenty years, againſt the *Plebeians*, and the two uſurping Monarchs elected by them ſucceſſively one after another,

Cairbre Caitcheann and *Conrach mhac Roſſae*; or even of any of thoſe other, yet much more numerous of *Con Ceadchathach*, in all 260 (whence the *Iriſh* gave him in their own Language the ſurname of *Ceadchathach*, * and in Latin call'd him *Conſtantinus Centibellis*, which we may render in Engliſh *Con of the hundred Battels*) which he had Victoriouſly fought to reduce the Provinces of *Ireland* to his own terms: foiling the Province of *Ulſter* in a hundred of them, the *Mounſter* men in a hundred more, and thoſe of *Leinſter* in ſixty: though after all, he was himſelf in ten other Battels by *Mogha Nuathat*, King of *Mounſter*, ſo mightily beaten and worſted, that he was forced at laſt even fairly to part ſtakes, and come to a new diviſion of *Ireland*, in two equal parts between 'em, by the Meer of *Eiſger-Riada*, as it were a line drawn from the Eaſtern Sea at *Dubh-linn* (now *Dublin*) to the Weſtern at *Galway*: quitting ſo the whole Southern ſide of the line for ever to *Mogh*, and contenting himſelf with the North-ſide only. Which diviſion, as it continued in after Ages (tho not as to the firſt purpoſe of it, but ſeldom) and took its name from thoſe two Dividers, the Southern part of it being in *Iriſh* called *Leath Mogh*, and the Northern *Leath Cuinn*;

* Cead *in* Iriſh, *imports an hundred*; *and* Cath, *a Battel.*

Cuinn; the former importing the half of *Mogh*, and the latter the half of *Con* (for the word *Leath* signifies half): So it transmitted to their several Posterities, and rest of the Princes and People inhabiting either of these two halves, a strong addition to their former Feuds, and new general occasion of many cruel Fights. Of all and every of which Fights, and all the rest whatsoever, except only those but now excepted, the date, and place, and persons principally concern'd, and particular occasions too not seldom, may be read in the foresaid History of Dr. *Keting*. And among them, seaven of those ten Battels fought by *Mogha* against *Con Ceadchathach*, particularly named from the places where they were fought, *viz.* the Battels of *Brosnuighe*, and *Sampaire*, and *Greine*, and *Atha-Luaine*, and *Luighe Croich*, and *Asail*, and *Usnach*; the names of the other three are lost.

17. But that which in this whole account of their Battels fought, and Monarchs kill'd by their own Natives, must be not only strange, but astonishing, is, that the fury extended even to many Ages of Christianity, or rather indeed in a very great measure to the whole extent or duration of their being a free People. In the very first four hundred years of Christian Religion flourishing in *Ireland* so conspicuously, as we have seen before, with Myriads

riads of holy Professors, yet their Princes and Nobles, and other Martial men were as furiously given to the destruction of one another, as their Ancestors had been in the time of Paganism. In so much, that of 33 Monarchs, who (according even to *Polychronicon* and *Cambrensis*) had Reigned successively in that Nation from *Laogirius* (in whose Reign, and fourth year of it, S. *Patrick* entred upon the work of their Conversion) to the Reign of *Aodh Ordnigh*, in which the first Invasion and War of the *Danes* upon em began, four and twenty were by their own *Irish* Christian Subjects most unchristianly murder'd in the Island of *Saints*; six of them in Battel, and eighteen without battel or other solemnity or ceremony, than that of the vilest Assassination committed on great Princes. Nor were the six Battels in which those six Monachs were kill'd the only Battels fought in that space of time wherein the primitive fervour of Christianity most flourish'd among other Professors of it in that Country. So far otherwise, that of those 33 Monarchs who Reign'd in that time before the first Landing of the *Danes*, I find but three only, *Aodh Slaine*, *Colman Rimbigh*, and *Swine Mean* that were not in Arms against any at all, Subjects or Foreigners; who nevertheless were all three murdered by some wicked Irish men, their own Subjects:

and

and beſides them, *Blaithmhac* and *Diarmuid Ruannigh*, two Brothers in like manner joyntly enjoying the Soveraign Power, and then *Seachnaſach* immediatly ſucceeding, in all three more, that although they were in Arms at home, it was not againſt any of their own People, but the two former againſt the *Saxons* and *Brittons* invading them under the leading of their General *Brit* (or *Berthus*) and the third againſt the *Picts* Landing in *Ulſter*, whom the Forces of that Province overthrew preſently; and yet he alſo was murdered by his own People. All the reſt of the three and thirty Monarchs had their Swords drawn (whether juſtly or injuſtly I diſpute not here) againſt their own Rebellious Subjects at home; and theſe againſt them. So that beſides infinite depredations, waſtings, burnings of the Countrey; beſides the endleſs harraſſing of the poor Peaſants; and even ſometime the violating of Sanctuaries, and burning of Churches, and killing of Clergy men, and Prieſts, and Biſhops too for company; beſides leſſer Fights and skirmiſhes without number: you may read in *Keting* above 58 main Battels fought between their Princes, Kings, and Monarchs, within that period of time: a period that wanted ſeven or eight years of 400.

Manuſcript. *in the ſeveral Reigns of thoſe Kings.*

18. And that you may understand how bloody, how destructive indeed those greater Battels might have generally been: I will instance here in two of them. First, in that which they call the Battel of *Allmhain*, wherein about the year of Christ, 920. the Monarch *Ferghall mhac Maolduin* with an Army of one and twenty thousand men invading and fighting *Murchoe mhac Bruin* King of *Leinster*, who had but nine thousand one hundred and sixty men to oppose him, was himself kill'd, and together with him seven thousand of his Army on the place; besides 269 persons more of them so strangely frighted, that they fell into that kind or heighth of frenzy which the *Irish* call in their Language *Dubhghealtacht*, flying over ground, like frighted Fowls from all People they met or saw. This ill fortune of this Monarch *Fearghall* was thought to have happend him, because a Party of his men in their march to this Field had spoild a Sanctuary call'd *Cillin*, and the Anchoret there living had curs'd the Monarch and his whole Army. Secondly, in that which they call the Battel of *Seanaigh* and *Vchaidh*, fought between the Monarch *Aodh Ollan*, and *Aodh Colgan*, King (also) of *Leinster*, yea fought with that fury on both sides, that besides this Monarch himself mortally wounded, and a very great slaughter of his Army; and besides *Aodh Colgan* kill'd, together

together with *Bran Beg*, the petty King of half *Leinſter*; nine thouſand more of the *Leinſter* men alone remained dead on the Field; tho the ſaid Monarch died not of his wounds received here, but was kill'd ſometimes after in the Battel of *Seir*. But what I cannot here but particularly take notice of, as worthy of ſpecial remark, are two things. The one, that this fury of purſuing one another with Battels, and Slaughters, and Murders, even all along from their converſion to Chriſtianity, for the extent of 400 years, had been ſo ſtrangely violent, that it gave them no leaſure at all to think of preſerving, much leſs enlarging their former Conqueſts.

In their time of Paganiſm how bloodily ſoever the ſeveral Factions had been commonly bent to mutual deſtruction; yet the prevailing Parties now and then had ſuch generous publick reſolutions, as to give over at home, and employ their Warlike ſpirits abroad to enlarge their Dominions. We have formerly ſeen their brave exploits in ſubduing the *Orcades*, *Hebrides*, Iſle of *Man*, and then all *Scotland*; and then making the reſt of *Great Britain* tributary, and laſt of all enterprizing on *France* it ſelf in the decay of the *Roman* Empire, till *Niall* the *Great* was no leſs treacherouſly than revengfully murder'd there amidſt his Army camping on the River of *Loyre*, as has been ſaid before.

before. I might alſo have added another adventure and enterprize of theirs on *France*, with a reſolute Army under the leading of their Monarch *Dathi*, alias *Fearadhach*, who as in the Sovereignty of *Ireland*, ſo in his deſign on *France* ſucceeded immediatly to the foreſaid *Niall* the Great: tho having Landed there, and march'd through till he came near the *Alps*, he was here ſtruck dead by a Thunderbolt from Heaven: for ſo the *Iriſh* Chronicles deliver his death. As they do alſo the cauſe of it (according to the conjectures of men) to have been, that he ſuffered the Cell of a Chriſtian holy *Anchorite*, by name *Parmenius*, to be ranſack'd: who thereupon curſing this Heathen Sacrilegious King, and calling to Heaven for Vengeance, that exemplary puniſhment ſhewed his prayer was heard by God. But whatever the cauſe of it was, the place where it happen'd ſhews how vigorouſly he purſued the brave adventures of ſo many other Pagan Kings and Princes of *Ireland* to enlarge their Dominions abroad.

19. And becauſe peradventure it may be worth the while, take here in ſhort a Catalogue of thoſe *Iriſh* Monarchs, Princes, and other chief Nobles, who by their firſt ſubduing, and then planting of *Albain* (as they call it) gave it the name of *Scotland*. 1. *Aongus Ollbhuathach*, not the VII Monarch, nor Monarch

narch of any number at all, but Son to *Fiachae Labhruinne* the XIV. Monarch or King of *Ireland*. (for ſo you muſt correct what is ſaid of him otherwiſe before *pag.* 17.) I ſay this *Aongus* entred *Albuin* to recover of the *Picts* the chiefry due to the King of *Ireland* his Father. Wherein finding them refractory, he gave them and the *Britains*, or *Aborigines*, inhabiting at that time the Northern parts of *Great Britain* ſo many overthrows, that he reduced them at laſt to his own conditions, making them not only Tributaries but Subjects to the Kings of *Ireland*: which happened about 250 years after the arrival of the *Iberians* there from *Spain*, that is well nigh 2800 years ſince. 2. *Aongus* ſurnamed *Ollmhucaidh* (from his extraordinary great Hogs: for *Muc* in their Language ſignifies a Hog in Engliſh) the XVI. King of *Ireland*, of the *Mileſian* Conqueſt, fought the *Picts* and *Firr Bholg* inhabiting the *Orcades*, and other Iſlands of *Scotland*, and utterly ſubdued them in 50 Battels. For it was he, and not the foreſaid *Aongus*, ſurnamed *Ollbhuathach* (or the *Victorious*) that fought them and ſubdued all thoſe Iſlanders. And therefore by this obſervation alſo, be pleaſed to correct what you find otherwiſe in the foreſaid *16 page.* 3. Many centuries after, the ſixtieth Monarch of *Ireland*, *Reachta Righdhearg* croſſing the narrow Seas, and Landing in *Albain* (as the

the Irish call that Country still, which we call *Scotland*) once more established on the *Picts* what those other Princes did before him. This *Reachta Righdhearg* was the first of three *Irish* Monarchs born in *Mounster*, that enjoyed the Sovereign Power of *Albain*. The other two were *Mac Con* (otherwise called *Lughae*) and *Crionthan mhac Fiodaigh*. 4. There went also thither (about the year of Christ, 150.) on his own account with considerable Forces *Cairbre Riadfadae* (Son to the 106. Monarch of *Ireland*, by name *Conaire mhac Mogha Lauae*) who Conquer'd large Dominions for himself in the more Northern parts of that Kingdom, and left his Posterity after him there; who are those, or at least a great and the more ancient part of those called by Venerable *Bede Dal-Rheudini*, as being the Inhabitants and first *Irish* Planters of *Dal-Rheuda*, or as the *Irish* call it, *Dal-Riada*, in *Scotland*. Whether it be not called so from that *Cairbre Riadbfadae*, that is from this surname of his, *Riadfadae*, being changed by *V. Bede* to *Rheuda*, as it might easily be, I know not. But this I know that *Dal*, which is prepos'd in the composition, signifies *Part*, or *Lot*. And so the whole word *Dal-Rheuda*, or *Dal-Riada* signifies the Part of such a man who was the chief in Conquering it. 5. The foresaid *Mac Con*, alias *Lughae*

Beda. Histor. Eccles. l. 1. c. 1.

Lughae, within a few years more, at leaſt within leſs than thirty, purſuing the ſame examples, Landed in *Scotland* with a power of his Country-men Adventurers. For it was from thence he returned back into *Ireland* to fight the Battel called *Maigh Mhuchruimhe*, wherein being Victorious, and killing the Monarch *Art Aoinfir*, he made himſelf Sovereign in his place. 6. This *Mac Con*'s Grand-Son, *Fiachae Ceanann* entring likewiſe *Scotland*, not only gain'd large poſſeſſions, but left his Poſterity after him to give a beginning to *Mac Allin* and his Family there, who are all deſcended from him. 7. *Colla Vais*, who had been four years, tho by Uſurpation, the 115. Monarch of *Ireland*, when he was by the lawful Heir, his own Couſin German, *Muireadhach Tiriogh*, defeated in Battel, and forc'd to flie, adventuring over to *Scotland* with the two other *Collaes*, his Brethren, and reſt of his adherents, and acquiring great ſcopes of ground there, became the Grandſire of the *Clan Ndomnaills* both in *Scotland* and *Ireland*. For all of this Surname, in either Kingdom, in their ſeveral generations or branches derive their extraction in a direct line from this *Colla Vais*: and conſequently neither from *Herimon* or *Heber*, but from *Ithe*, a Couſin of theirs, who was the Son of *Breoghuin mhic Bratha*, of the ſame ſtock with *Mileſius*. 8. Next after that *Colla*, did *Criamhthan mhac Fiodu*, the 120. King of *Ireland*, with a

Royal

Royal Army invade *Albain*, I mean *Scotland*. He had in his company another very powerful Noble man called *Earc mhac Eocha Muingreabar, mhic Aonguſſa*. And from him the *Septs*, not only of *Clann Eirc*, and *Cineall Gabhrain*, but thoſe of *Cineall Conghvill*, *Cineall Naonghuſſa*, and *Cineall Conriche Anile*, with their diſtinct propagations and Families in *Scotland*, ever ſince to this preſent are deſcended. 9. *Corck mhac Luighdhioch* is the next in order that deſerves mention. Becauſe that by the falſe and wicked ſurmiſes of his Step-mother, upon his refuſal to conſent to her inceſtuous Luſt (ſhe was Daughter to *Fiachac mhac Reill*, King of *Ely*) falling into his Fathers diſpleaſure; and thereupon forced to ſeek his fortune in *Scotland*, and arriving there, accompanied with ſuch armed Troops as he could raiſe; and then by his own deſerts coming into ſuch extraordinary favour with the *Scottiſh* King *Fearradhach Fionn*, otherwiſe called *Fionn Chormac*, that he obtain'd his Daughter call'd *Muingfionn* to Wife; he had iſſue by her, beſides other Sons, *Manie Leambna*, from whom the Sept of *Leambnuidh* in *Scotland*, and *Cairbre Cruithnioch*, from whom the Families of *Eoghanacht Muighe Geirghin*, in the ſame Kingdom were propagated. 10. Soon after him *Niall Naoighiallach* the 121. and moſt powerful indeed of all the *Iriſh* Monarchs that were at any time before or ſince, entred *Scotland* with ſo great a force

that

that there was no reſiſting him. But having ſaid enough of him before, I need not add to it here. 11. In the laſt place, and year of Chriſt 493. (much about ninety three years after the ſaid War-like Prince *Niall* the *Great*, ſurnamed alſo *Naoighiallach*, had been kill'd in *France*, and in the 20. year of *Lugha* the 125 Monarch (Son to *Laogirius*) his Reign, the ſix Sons of *Muireadhach* * *mhic Eoghuin*, *Mhic Neill*, King of *Ulſter*, being ſix Brothers of *Mairchiartach Mor*, that ſoon after came to be Monarch of *Ireland*, namely to the two *Fergusſes*, the two *Aongusſaes*, and the two *Loarns*, together with other Septs or Families of *Dal-Riada*, in the ſame Province of *Ulſter*, adventur'd for *Albain*: and whether or no they gave the denomination of *Dal-Rheuda*, or *Dal-Riada* to the Country there moſtly poſſeſſed by them, tho at leaſt for a great part of it planted before (as we have ſeen) by the Progeny of *Cairbre Rioghfadae*; † the *Iriſh* Chronicles are plain and poſitive herein, that they gave to them-

* *So ſays* Keting *in the Reign of* Niall Naoighiallach. *yet formerly in the Reign of* Oilioll Molt, *he calls them the ſix Sons of* Eirc mhic Eachae Muinreamhair.

†Eochae Muinreamhar *of the Progeny of* Cairbre Ridhſadae, *had two Sons*, Earcha *and* Elchon. *From the former, the the Families of* Dal-Riada *in* Scotland *were deſcended. From the latter thoſe of* Dal-Riada *in* Ulſter. *So* Keting *ſays*

sext in the Reign of Art Aonsir. *where he further says that the two* Dal-Riades, *or Families of them have been distinguished by the surname or nick-name of* Russach, *given those of* Dal Riada *in* Ulster.

selves and all their Country-men the *Scots* of *Albion* the first King that ever they had of the name of *Fergus*, who was one of those six Brothers. And it is he that both the *Irish* and *English Scots* have since, for his honor, surnamed the *Great*; as likewise *Fergus* I. Not that he was indeed the first *Irish* (or *Scottish*) King of *Dal-Rheuda*, (wherein *Buchanan*, and all the rest of his Fellow-Historians that were *English Scots*, are extreamly out: for long before that very *Fergus* there have been many *Scottish* Kings of *Irish* descent in *Dal-Rheuda*:) but that he was greater than any of the former, and the first of his own name that ruled there. To conclude, so many were the Invasions, and so great the Plantations made in that Country by the *Irish Milesians*, and other *Gathelians* in their time of Paganism, that as they Conquer'd, so they planted it throughly at last, having quite expell'd the *Picts*. And so they kept it possess'd intirely by themselves, as Lords thereof, for some Ages: That is, until after the *Norman* Conquest of *England*, very many of the *Saxons* retiring thither under their protection, others invited in, and accompanying *William* the *Scottish* King, and both of them mul-

multiplying mightily, they not only made the other Nations which are now called *English Scots*, but by degrees gained from them, as we see, even all other the better parts of that Kingdom besides the Lowlands.

I say *accompanying William the Scottish King*. For *Stow* in his Chronicle tells, That this King *William* of *Scotland*, after he had been taken Prisoner by *Henry* II. of *England*, carried over to *Normandy*, confin'd at *Roan*, until he compounded for his Ransom; return'd back to *England*; set free at *York*, upon his paying down 4000, &c. and now being on his journey home, and seeing the Noble-men, his own Subjects, would come no neater than *Pembels* in *Scotland*, to receive him; therefore took with him many younger Sons of such of the *English* Nobility as shew'd him most kindness in the time of his Imprisonment. That he entertain'd them, and detain'd them, and bestow'd on them great Estates and Possessions in *Scotland*, which he took from such as had rebell'd against him there. That this of their waiting on him to *Scotland* was in the year of Christ, 1174. And that their names were *Bailliol*, *Brewse*, *Soulley*, *Mowbrey*, St. *Clare*, *Hay*, *Gifford*, *Ramsey*, *Lamdell*, *Bisey*, *Berk*, *Ley*, *Willegen*, *Boyt*, *Montgomery*, *Valx*, *Colemille*, *Friser*, *Grame*, *Gurlay*, and divers others. Fol. 152.

20. Yet my meaning is not to assert positively, that the foresaid last Invasion or Plantation made by those *Ulster Dal-Rheudans*, and six Sons of *Muredus* King of *Ulster*, had been made in the time of *Irelands* Paganism. I know it happen'd in the 20th. year of the Sovereignty of *Lugha (mhac Laoghaire)* Monarch of *Ireland*, which was of Christ, 493. and consequently the very next year after *Patricks* death, according to *Ketings* computation; tho according to *Jocelinus*, it must have been the next saving one. I know also, it is supposed by the Writers of this holy mans life, especially *Jocelinus*, c. 191. that even three and thirty years before his death, all *Ireland*, together with the Isle of *Man*, and all other Islands then subject to the *Irish*, had been throughly and wholly converted to Christian Religion by him. Which makes it indeed very probable, that this last expedition of the *Irish* into *Scotland* was wholly consisting of Christian Adventurers. And yet I am not certain of it for these reasons. 1. Because *Jocelinus* (c. 49.) and others tell us that notwithstanding all the prodigious wonders done by S. *Patrick*, and many of them in the very presence of *Laogirius* the Monarch, (Father to this *Lugha*,) he was never converted, but died in his Infidelity, being kill'd at *Gneuttach* (a Village near the River *Liffy* in that Country, which we now call the County

County of *Kildare*) by a Thunder-bolt ſhot at him from Heaven. Tho *Keting* partly attributes this Vengeance of God fallen on him, to his perfidious breach of ſolemn promiſe made by him upon Oath, invoking the Sun, Moon, and all the Planets to atteſt it. Which Oath he made to obtain his Liberty, when he was foiled and taken Priſoner in the Battel of *Ath-Dara*, by the *Lagenians* and *Criomthan mbac Enno*: the contents of it being, to remit for ever the heavy *Boreimh* (as they call it) or Fine, which he challeng'd from them as due to him and all other Monarchs after him. 2. Becauſe this very Monarch *Luigha*, in whoſe Reign that Expedition of the *Ulſter Dal-Rhendans*, and ſix Sons of *Muredus* happen'd, tho he lived and continued his Sovereignty 15 years longer, was nevertheleſs at laſt ſtruck likewiſe dead by a Thunderbolt: and the Iriſh Antiquaries of thoſe times have interpreted this Judgment on him as a juſt puniſhment of the great diſreſpects and diſhonour done by him to the ſame extraordinary wonderful Servant of God. And theſe are my reaſons for doubting. For it ſeems not likely, that if *Lugha* had been converted, he would after his Converſion have ſo behaved himſelf towards that Saint, as to incenſe Heaven to puniſh him in ſo dreadful a manner. And as unlikely it is, that in caſe he had ſo miſ-behaved himſelf, during his Infide-

lity, he would not after his Converſion have repented ſo heartily thereof, as to merit the Saints prayers for him to God, at leaſt for diverting ſo terrible a judgment. And then we know how far the example of a wicked Monarch might have prevail'd with other wicked men to keep them ſtill in their Infidelity.

But be this conjecture true or falſe; nay, be it ſuppos'd for certain, that *Lugha* and all *Ireland* every one, and conſequently thoſe ſix Sons of *Muireadhach* King of *Ulſter*, with their *Dal-Rheudans* were Chriſtians then, when they enter'd *Scotland*: it appears notwithſtanding out of the Iriſh Chronicles, that as they were the firſt, ſo they were the laſt and only Adventurers any where abroad out of *Ireland*, ſince its Converſion to Chriſtianity; the War-like humor of its Monarchs, Princes, and Nobles, being always after that, wholly imploy'd at home in deſtroying one another. Inſomuch that they gave not themſelves either opportunity or leiſure to look after not ſo much as the paiment of Chiefries or Tributes due to them from their Dominions abroad in the Iſlands or *Terra Firma* it ſelf of *Scotland*. Not one of all their Monarchs, for ought appears in their Hiſtory, having at any time ſince entertain'd ſo not a thought of employing their Arms that way, ſave only *Aodh mhac Aimhiriogh* the 10th. undoubted Chriſtian Monarch, who pro-

propos'd it in his great Parliament at *Drom Ceatha*, and was generously resolv'd upon it, until by the customary obstacle of a Civil War at home, he was not only soon diverted from that resolution, but himself kill'd in the Battel of *Beluigh Duin Bholg*, fought against him by *Brandubh* King of *Leinster*; as this *Brandubh* also, not long after, was by his own *Lagenian* Subjects in the Battel of *Cam-Chluana*.

By all which you may perceive that Christian Religion wrought so little on that People towards the abatement of their mortal fends, that under it, even in its first four hundred years among them, their Princes were much more fatally engaged in pursuing one another with fire and sword, and horrid slaughters, to the utter undoing of themselves, and weakning of their Country, and making it an easie prey to Foreiners after, than their very Pagan Predecessors had been, whereof so many had extended their Dominions far and near, and still enlarged and kept them for so many Ages abroad; whatever in the mean time their dissentions were at home. And this is one of those two things I would especially remark here.

12. The other is, That not even the greatest holiness of some of their very greatest and most justly celebrated Saints has been exempt from the fatality of this genius of putting their

Controverſies to the bloody deciſion of Battels; tho they foreſaw the death of ſo many thouſands muſt needs have followed, or at leaſt be hazarded to follow. Even *Columb-Cille* himſelf, ſo religious a Monk, Prieſt, Abbot, ſo much a man of God, was nevertheleſs the very Author, Adviſer, Procurer of fighting three ſeveral Battels, namely thoſe of *Cuile-Dreimhne*, *Cuile-Rathan*, and *Cuile Feadha*. The firſt on this occaſion. At a Parliament held at *Taragh* by the Monarch *Diarmuid mbic Fergufſe Cerrbheoil*, it happened that contrary to the moſt ſacred and ſevere Laws of that priviledg'd place, one *Cuornane mhac Aedh* had kill'd a Gentleman: and that this *Cuornane* flying away preſently to ſhelter himſelf under the wings of *Dombnal* and *Ferghuſſe*, the Sons of *Muirchiortach mhac Earcha*, two powerful men in their own Territory: and they, for his better aſſurance, recommending him to *Columb-Cille*'s protection: the Monarch nevertheleſs fighting on him, put him to death for his unpardonable crime at *Taragh*. Which *Columb-Cille* reſented ſo grievouſly, that he perſuaded ſuch Families of the *Neales* as inhabited the North (who, by way of diſtinction from thoſe other *Neales* living to the South of *Ireland*, were called *Clanna Neill in Tuaiſgeart*, as the ſaid other were *Clanna Neill in Diſgeart*) to fight the Monarch, while himſelf pray'd to

God

God for their good ſucceſs. And it ſeems God was pleaſed to hear his prayer for humbling the Monarch. For the iſſue of the Battel fought ſo by thoſe *Neales* at *Cuile Druimhne* was, that *Diarmuid* not only ſaw himſelf routed, but almoſt his whole Army kill'd in that very Field. The ſecond on this occaſion, *Dal-Narruidh* and other *Ultonians* had in a difference twixt *Columb-Cille* and *Comghall* ſhewed themſelves unjuſtly partial againſt *Columb*, as he thought. And therefore he had the Battel of *Cuile Rathan* fought againſt them. Who this *Comghall* was, I cannot certainly tell; tho I think he might be the great *Comghall*, alias *Congellus*, Founder and Abbot of *Beannchuir*, of whom ſo much has been ſaid before. I am ſure he and *Colum-Cille* were contemporaries, and of the ſame Province of *Ulſter*. But for being Author of the third Battel, *Columb-Cille* had a much more ſpecious cauſe (if I may preſume to interpoſe my ſimple judgment) than either of the two former. *Baodhan mhac Niuadha*, who had been Monarch but one whole year, being in ſome extraordinary danger from his Enemies, *Columb-Cille* paſs'd his word in the nature of a Sanctuary to him, to keep him ſafe in that extremity. Which *Colmane mhac Colmain* not regarding, he had him ſet upon and murder'd by the two *Cummins* (viz. *Cummin mhac Colmain Bhig*, and *Cummin*

mhac Libhrein) at *Gorrig Leime in Eich*, or the Horſe-leap in *Jomairge*. And this was the cauſe that moved *Columb-Cille* to perſuade and be Author of the Battel of *Cnile Feadha*, fought againſt *Colmane mhac Diarmuda*.

It is true, That whatever, or how juſt ſoever the cauſes of each, or all thoſe three Battels had ſeem'd to *Columb-Cille*; yet the holy Biſhop *Molaiſſe* was ſo far from approving any of them, that for engaging in them any way, he not only moſt ſeverely reproved *Columb-Cille*, but enjoyn'd him the grievous pennance of departing preſently out of *Ireland*, and never more during life to ſee it. It is alſo true, that *Columb-Cille* with all humility and readineſs obeying this injunction departed forthwith to *Scotland*: where the power of God was with him ſo eminently in converting ſuch vaſt numbers of Infidels to Chriſt, as if God himſelf from all eternity had preordained thoſe three Battels to be the occaſion of ſaving the *Picts*. And no leſs true it is, That when the great Parliament of *Ireland* was ſummon'd by the Monarch *Aodh mhac Ainmhirogh* to aſſemble at *Drom Ceatha*, as they did, and ſate there thirteen months, without intermiſſion or Prorogation, debating principally thoſe three things which he propoſed to them. 1. That of Baniſhing for ever all the Poets out of the Kingdom, by reaſon of their being an exceſſive

ceſſive, intolerable burden to the People. Where-of you may ſee ſtrange particulars, in the following account.

'This was the fourth time the Poets (whom the Iriſh in their Language call Ollamhs) were by a 'general Decree all of them condemn'd to Baniſh-'ment into Dal-Riada in Scotland, by reaſon of 'their inſolency, exceſſive number, and burthen to 'the People. For 1. They beg'd all what-ever 'ſeem'd to be moſt valued by the Noble-men; who 'out of a fooliſh cuſtom that prevail'd too long, 'could deny them nothing. And therefore they 'had the impudence to beg of this very Monarch Aodh mhac Ainmhiriogh the richeſt and moſt 'precious Jewel in all his Treaſury, and had it. 2. Their number was near a third part of the 'People of Ireland. So ſays Keting, if my Copy 'of his work be right. There was a thouſand of 'them that kept Trains of Underlings waiting on 'them continually where-ever they went. The 'chiefeſt of all had 30 men, for his own particular 'train. The next to him 15. and ſo forth deſcend-'ing; every one of them had ſome number in his 'own proper retinue, to the very laſt of 1000 'leading Poets. 3. They were all of 'em, with 'all their numerous trains, yearly ceſs'd on the o-'ther Inhabitants of the Kingdom from All-'hallows-day till May-day, even ſix entire months 'of the year. And theſe I think were ſufficient 'reaſons to Baniſh them, as I have ſaid they were

'three

'three ſeveral times before this Parliament of Drom-'Ceatha had been chiefly called for the ſame end. 'For you are to underſtand, that after each of their 'former Baniſhments they were ſtill harbour'd in the 'North until they procur'd licence to return to all the 'other Provinces. The firſt time, being a thouſand in 'number, at the interceſſion of Columb-Cille, who 'went in behalf of Conchabhar King of Ulſter, to 'meet and invite them, they were ſtaid, received 'and maintain'd by him and his Nobles of that 'Province till ſeven years were over. The ſecond 'time by Fiachna mhac Baodhaine King of 'Ulſter, but for one year only, their number be-'ing ſeven hundred. The third time by Maob-'choha King of Ulſter; likewiſe one whole year, 'when their number was full 1200. But this 'fourth time, at the Parliament at Drom-Ceatha, 'tho Colum-Cille had interpoſed for them all he 'could, yet being convinc'd by the Monarch's rea-'ſons he acquieſced at laſt in what was decreed there, 'not only for the ſuppreſſion of their multitudes, and 'reformation of their abuſes, and eaſe of the People, 'but even for preſervation of their own Language, 'Laws, Poetry, Hiſtory, Genealogy, and Chronology, 'arts both uſeful and delightful to all ingenious 'Men, and civil Nations. As 1. That the Mo-'narch, Provincial, and other leſſer Kings, and 'every Lord of a Cantred (or Barony) ſhould each 'of them entertain a Poet of his own; beſtow on 'him and his Poſterity for ever, a competent Eſtate

in

'*in Lands, to live upon; and that both his Perſon,*
'*Lands, and other Goods ſhould be exempt from all*
'*publick duties.* 2. *That for preſerving the*
'*ſciences they profeſs'd, there ſhould be ſome pub-*
'*lick Free Schools both appointed and endowed*
'*with Lands by the Eſtates of the Kingdom in ge-*
'*neral. And purſuant to this Decree thoſe two in*
'Breithfne, *the one at* Rath-Ceanaidh, *the o-*
'*ther at* Magh-Sleacht, *were eſtabliſh'd.* 3. *That*
'*the Monarch's Poet or* Ollamh, *ſhould be the*
'Ard-Ollamh, *that is Arch-Poet and Arch-Pro-*
'*feſſor of their knowledge: and that he ſhould have*
'*the appointment of, and a ſuperintendency too over*
'*the reſt.* 4. *And laſtly none otherwiſe, or above*
'*this number to be allow'd.*

2. That of depoſing *Scanlane Mor mhac Ceanſolaidh*, King of *Oſſory*, who was then his Priſoner, and committed even by Authority of that Parliament, for his refuſing to pay the ſaid Monarch a certain annual rent challeng'd as due from him. 3. That of invading *Scotland* with a Royal Army to force the payment of Chiefry, Tributes, and other Duties formerly paid thence to his Predeceſſors. And when *Columb-Cille* was perſuaded to go thither out of *Scotland*, of purpoſe to intercede for the Poets, interpoſe for his devoted Friend the ſaid *Scanlane Mor* King of *Oſſory*, and to divert the Monarch from his reſolution of invading *Scotland*: nevertheleſs he was ſo rigorouſly, and

even

even so literally observant of that penance enjoyn'd him by *Molaisse*, that he had continually during the whole time of going thither, staying there, and returning back, a Sear-cloath in such manner hanging down before his eyes, that he never saw light all the while, nor did at any time after during life, as neither before since the command laid upon him by *Molaisse*, any part or foot of *Irelands* ground.

Which admirable instance of the most perfect resignation of his will, judgment, soul, to the greatest exactness of Christian discipline, together with the prodigious austerity of his life, and mortification of his body, by watching and fasting to such a degree, that he seem'd a very Skeleton alive: even all his ribs, and other bones of that side whereon he lay on the sandy ground, which was his ordinary bed in his little Cell, being perfectly countable in the print of them remaining there, when he rose up from it I say that all this together duly considered, besides his continual prayer and contemplation, makes me not wonder at all that he should have both converted Nations, and wrought so many stupendious miracles above all the power of Nature by invoking God, as are reported of him in his life. Nor consequently that in this very Parliament of *Drom-Ceath*, upon denial of his two last requests, the

one

one for ſetting at liberty the foreſaid King of *Offory*, the other for not making War on *Dal-Rhenda* in *Scotland*, or requiring Chiefry or other duties of them any more, he ſhould, as he was departing and taking his leave of them, ſo confidently have prayed to God, and withal prophetically told the Monarch there in publick. 1. That *Scanlane Mor* ſhould be freed that very night by God himſelf, and be with him wherever he ſhould chance to be that ſame night before he went to midnight Prayers. 2. That *Scotland* ſhould never more pay tribute, chief rent, or other duty of ſubjection to *Ireland*. Both which predictions were to a tittle accompliſh'd. But theſe matters, either of his auſterity, or ſanctity, or miraculous power, and prophetical ſpirit are foreign to this place.

And therefore I return to tell you, that I had no other deſign in relating thoſe three Battels fought by his authority, than to let you ſee by ſuch convincing proofs the native genius of that People, even in thoſe early days of Chriſtianity flouriſhing among them in all its glory. A fatal genius indeed, to put their controverſies to the deciſive judgment of the God of Hoſts in Battel, without regard either of any other way of arbitration of man, or of ſo many thouſand of unfortunate men that periſh'd ſtill by this bloody Teſt, or even of the conſequential

tial weakning of their Country by it; and this to ſuch a degree as muſt have expos'd them all at laſt an eaſie prey to Foreigners. Yet ſuch their genius was, and ſo it continued ſtill. Neither Monarchs, nor Provincial Kings, nor other Princes or Leaders among them ſeem'd to be at all moved by the holy injunction of *Molaiſſe*, or penitential divine obſervation of it by *Columb-Cille* all his life after, in expiating his former zeal. They, notwithſtanding all their Chriſtianity, went on all of them generally in the old beaten road, either of Battels, (or which was worſe) of Murders, even from this very Monarch *Aodh Aimmbiriogh* for 300 years more. That is, juſt as their Predeceſſors had done before in the very firſt century of that holy religion among them. For it was within this earlieſt and holieſt Age of all, that we read of ſix of their firſt Chriſtian Sovereigns of *Ireland* downright murdered by their own Subjects at home, beſides one more kill'd in Battel by them: *Baodhan mhac Nineadha*, by the two *Cummins*: *Ainmhire mhac Seadna*, by *Ferghuſſa mhac Neill*: *Diarmuid mhac Ferghuſſa Cairbhroil* by *Aodh Dubh mhac Snibhne*: the two Brothers who joyntly ruled, *Eochac* and *Baodhan*, by *Cronan mhac Tighernaigh* King of *Cionachta Ghlinne Geimhion*: *Tuathal Maolgharubh*, by *Maolmortha* at a place called *Grealla Eillte*: and *Oilioll Molt* the firſt of them all,

in

in the Battel of *Ocha*, by *Lugha mhac Laoghaire*, who thereupon immediatly ſucceeded him in the Soveraignty: S. *Patrick* himſelf their great Apoſtle being yet alive among them.

22. To this unhappy Unchriſtian genius of the Princes and Nobles among that People for righting themſelves, or deciding their quarrels whether right or wrong, by their own ſwords either in Battel, or the baſer way of ſurprizal and murder, you may add, as no leſs worthy of ſpecial remark, the higheſt injuſtice of too many of their Monarchs both Heathen and Chriſtian, in puniſhing the perſonal crime of one man by laying intolerable Fines on whole Provinces at their pleaſures, and exacting them by Military execution, if otherwiſe not preciſely paid. For example, *Aongus Aincbille* King of *Leinſter*, having in the time of Paganiſm Married *Dairin* one of the two only Daughters of *Tuathal Teachtuar* the 101. Monarch of *Ireland*, and within a little time after viſited his Father in Law at *Tarach*, and made him believe that *Dairin* was dead, and then prayed that for the greater ſtrengthning of their Friendſhip he might have his other Daughter and her Siſter (by name *Fithir*) to Wife, and by earneſt ſuit obtained her: She was no ſooner brought home by him to his own Houſe, than ſeeing her Siſter alive, and thereby finding her ſelf abuſed, not only ſhe,

through

through extremity of ſhame ſeizing her, preſently fell down dead in the place, but *Dairin* likewiſe through exceſs of grief breath'd out her laſt upon her Siſters Corps in the very ſame place, and almoſt ſame moment of time, accompanying ſo her Ghoſt to the other life with her own. Which coming to the Monarch, their Fathers knowledge, did ſo enrage him, that entring *Leinſter* with a mighty Force to deſtroy all the People of that whole Province indiſtinctly with Fire and Sword, though they knew nothing at all of the crime; he could not be otherwiſe appeas'd or withdrawn from this reſolution, than by their univerſal ſubmiſſion for themſelves and Poſterity after them to a Fine (*Eirick* they call it) of 6000 *Beeves*, 6000 *Muttons*, 6000 *fat Hogs*, 6000 *Mantles*, 6000 *Cauldrons or Pots of Maſs, and* 6000 *ounces of Silver*, to be every ſecond year paid by them to him, and all future Kings of *Ireland* for ever. A Fine indeed both heavy, unjuſt, tyrannical, and which added ſo mightily to their former feuds, that upon the ſole account of it divers Battels have been fought, and much even Chriſtian blood in after-Ages ſpilt. For one third of it was for the *Conacians*, another to the *Oirghilliani* or *Methians*, and another to the *Clanna Neills* of the North: as who had all of 'em aſſiſted that Monarch *Tuathal Teachtmar* with their Forces to impoſe it. And

forty

fourty Monarchs in a continual succession after him, did even by Fire and sword exact the payment of it when refused, until at last *Fionachtae Fleadhach* the four or five and twentieth Christian Monarch, did about the year of Christ 902. at the intercession of S. *Moling*, set *Leinster* free by remitting and abolishing it for ever after.

Another example here of, might be the former Fine laid (about 143 years before *Tuathal Teachtmar* time) on the same Province of *Leinster*, by the Monarch *Conaire Mor Mhac Eidirsgeoil*, for the death of his said Father *Eidirsgeoil*, who was likewise Monarch of *Ireland* before him, but after six years Reign was murder'd in *Leinster*, at *Almhain*, (we now call it *Allon*) by *Nuadhath Neacht*, who thereupon succeeded him in the Soveraignty, though he held it only for half a year. For at the expiration of so little a time of his Reign, he also was kill'd by the foresaid *Conaire Mor*. Now this *Conaire* having thus possess'd himself of the Soveraign power of all *Ireland*, and (whatever his end was at last) reigned prosperously many years (some say 30. others 70.) did by his absolute authority, which had no controul, and for the said death of his Father *Eidirsgeoil*, lay upon *Leinster* a perpetual yearly *Eiriock* of 300 *white Cows*, 300 *fat Hogs*, 300 *Vessels of Ale*, and 300 *Swords with golden*

 handles,

bandles. And withal, as part of their *Eiriock*, forc'd them to quit the whole Dominion of *Offory* (which had a very large extent then, and they were three Countreys of that name joyn'd together) from *Gawran* to *Greine Airbe*, near the Moore call'd *Main Eile*, and give it up for ever to the Division or Province of *Mounster*; yea, and to confirm this surrender by invoking all the Planets to witness that they and as much as in them lay, their Posterity after them, should stand to it irrevocably. All which taken together was perad venture a no less (if not much more) oppressive *Eiriock*, than the latter impos'd by *Tuathal Teachtmar*. Yet because I find not how far the *Leinster* men were, or were not guilty of *Eidirscoeils* death, I say nothing positively of this matter; though *Keting* relates that six Provincial Kings of *Mounster*, viz. *Oilioll Olum*, *Enghamhas Oiliolla*, *Fiacha Muilleathan*, *Oilioll Flann Beg*, *Lugha*, his Son, and *Corck mhac Luighiodh*, in a succession Reigning there, had this *Eiriock* duly paid them, or at least forcid it by arms from the *Lagenians*. By what right, other than that *Conaire Mor*, the foresaid Monarch, that impos'd it, was himself a *Mounster* man born, and therefore perhaps assign'd it to that Province, I know not. But this I know, that *Keting* tells how by this time the *Mamonians* had got such footing in *Leinster*, that they possess'd all

to

to *Maisdion*, a height now better known by the *Irish* compound name of *Mullach-Maisdon*, in the County of *Kildare*. And how notwithstanding they were much about the same time, that is, above 200. years after the imposition of this Fine, beaten out of all, and their Fine to boot, and *Ossory* recover'd from them by three several Fights, as they retired from *Maisdion*; the first at a place then call'd *Truisdion*, now by us *Athy*, on the River *Barrow*; the second in *Cuirthin Amhaigh Riada*, which after was called *Laoighis* by the Natives, and from thence *Leise* by the *English*; the third at *Sligbe Dala*, now the *Beallach Mor* in *Ossory*. And how this War and three Battels against the *Munster* men, were manag'd by *Cu-Chorb*, King of *Leinster*, not only with the assistance of *Eochae Fionn*, second Son to the Monarch *Fedlim-Reachtmor*, and consequently Brother to *Conn Ceadchathach*, likewise Monarch in his time, but under the conduct of *Laoighseach Ceannmhor* (or *Lewis* of the *Great Head*, who was Son to the famous Warrior and Champion *Conall Cearnach*) as General of the Field under *Cu-Chorb*. And finally how this *Leinster* King rewarded the said *Eochae Fionn* by giving him for ever the Countreys then call'd the seven *Pocharties*; and the King of *Ossory* in like manner rewarded *Laoighseach Ceannmhor* with a grant of the seven *Leises*, besides many other

Priviledges bestowed upon him by *Cu-Chorb*. All which may be read at large in *Keting*. For I speak of this matter but occasionally.

23. After the great injustice and bloody consequences of those Tyrannical *Eiriocks*, what I purpos'd next to observe as most remarkable, is the greatest cruelty, the strangest insulting carriage, and the most inhuman rigour of some other Monarchs, even towards the very Provincial Kings of their own Nation, when their Captives or at their mercy. To conclude this point, I give three instances; the first of a Pagan, and the other two of two Christian Monarchs.

First instance. Upon the death of the Monarch *Criomthan mhac Fiodae*, poyson'd by his own Sister, and *Niall Naoighiollach*'s succeeding him, but not yet possess'd of *Taragh*, the Royal Mansion of the Monarchs, *Eochae* King of *Leinster*, pretending some title to the Monarchy, anticipates him, and possesses that place. But *Niall*'s Magitian or chief *Druid*, by name *Laighichin mhac Beirrbedha*, dissuades him on the religious, or rather indeed superstitious account, That none could successfully possess *Taragh*, who had not been created a *Niadh-Nask*, that is a Knight of the celebrated *Chain*, call'd in their Language *Nask*. Which whoever received with due solemnity about their necks, were stiled *Niadha-Nask*, importing

in *Iriſh* the ſame with *Milites Torquati* in Latin. For this of the *Chain* was an Order, and the only Order of Knighthood among 'em. However *Eochae* who had never been receiv'd into that Order, nor had that *Chain* about his neck, being thus diſſuaded, and retiring preſently into *Leinſter*, but in his way lodging unluckily a night in the ſaid Magitians Houſe, it happen'd that on ſome provoking Language given him by his Son, he kill'd him preſently in the place. This with all vehemency is exaggerated to *Niall* by the old Magician, Father to him that was kill'd. And *Niall* thereupon egg'd on partly by *Eochaes* late attempt on *Taragh*, and partly by the extream inceſſant opportunity of *Barrechedha* to lay all *Leinſter* in aſhes for the death of his Son, enters that Province with ſo vaſt an Army that no power of the *Lageneans* was able to withſtand him: and with ſuch a revengeful bloody reſolution too, that no prayers, no tears, no offers of the *Leinſter* Nobility, though meeting him of purpoſe, and humbling themſelves before him, could obtain any other anſwer from him, than that he was reſolved without delay to ruin their whole Province with the utmoſt devaſtation imaginable, unleſs they did forthwith deliver into his hands their King. *Eochae* ſeeing this deſperate condition of his people, like a brave, juſt, and noble Prince, conſidering him-

ſelf to be the only Criminal, chooſes rather to loſe his own life, than they who were innocent, ſhould theirs: and therefore delivers himſelf freely up. But the mercileſs Monarch, not moved either with his generoſity or humility, commands him to be tied preſently and ſtraightly about the middle with a ſtrong iron Chain, to a huge ſtone like a Rock, which to this day ſtands an end on a Field that is on the Weſt-ſide of the River *Slaine*, between *Kilbride* and *Tulla-O-Feilimm*, in the County of *Catherlagh*: both ends of the chain carried through a hole that ran from one ſide to another in the Stone, and then faſtned in the backſide with an Iron-bar put into both the extream links: and then nine bloody Fellows well arm'd to attack him, and mangle him in pieces, while he had nothing at all, no kind of weapon to defend himſelf. Though God and Nature, and the horror of ſo baſe a death did help him ſo ſtrangely, or rather miraculouſly indeed, that ſeeing himſelf in this caſe (for his back was to the Stone, and his face to the People:) and hearing at laſt the word given to his Executioners, who were yet at a little diſtance off: he thereupon rouſed up his ſpirits ſo wonderfully, that by violent ſtraining of himſelf, he tore in pieces the Chain before the Executioners were come ſo near as to reach him: and with part of thoſe very pieces laid about him,

ſo

so that some of the Villains lay dead at his feet, and he escaped the rest by running away.

Whereby it seems that God himself in his secret Counsels had design'd so strange a preservation of *Eochae* at this time, that he might be at another time in his own very person the punisher of that extraordinary cruel judgment given by *Niall* against him. For so in truth it happen'd at last in this manner following. *Eochae*, as now it has been related, having saved his life first by his valour, and then by his heels, to shun *Niall's* further cruelty, gets himself away, so soon as he could privately, over into *Scotland*, where he is *incognito* receiv'd into the protection of *Gabhran mhac Domhnaghoirt*, King of *Dal-Riadd* there, and of all the *Scots*. And after some years more expired, when this *Scottish* King had by commands received from that (now mighty) Monarch *Niall*, with all the power he could make and spare out of *Scotland*, pass'd over to him in *France* (or *Gaule*, as it then was call'd) *Eochae* accompanies him still *incognito*: and so conceals himself, until at last he found his opportunity at the River *Loyre*: where, as you have it before, he treacherously slew (by the flight of an Arrow) in the very midst of his Royal Conquering Army, this otherwise invincible, though cruel Prince. But these later passages of *Eochaes* preservation, and revenge (as nei-

ther indeed any other of the evil consequences following, which were many and great) are to my purpose now. And therefore I proceed to the

Second instance. Which though it have not so much either effectual or intentional cruelty, yet peradventure it shews the strangest insulting carriage of one Christian Prince a Conqueror towards another, not taken in Battel, or otherwise, but freely coming in of himself, and submitting to his mercy, that ever has been delivered in writing. *Diarmuid mhac Ferghussa, mhic Ceirrbheoil*, of whom I have said before, that he was the Tenth Christian, and now say that he was not only a Christian, but perhaps of the very best Christian Monarchs of *Ireland*, being held for many respects a very good man, and very just King; so just, if not rather over just he was, that he put his own Son *Breassal* to death upon the complaint of an old Religious woman of *Kill-Ealebruidh*, That notwithstanding the immunity of that Sacred place, and her own right, he had forc'd from her a Cow, because it was extraordinary fat, or to his liking, for a Feast, though indeed he had first offered her seven Cows, and a Bull too in compensation: this very *Diarmuid*, I say, in the seventh year of his Reign, and upon the like complaint of another Nun called *Sinnoch Cbro*, about one single Cow taken from her, having

having made a ſharp War on *Guaire mhac Colmain*, Provincial King of *Connaght*, by overthrowing him in a great Battel: and thereupon this *Guaire*, who was no leſs held as good a King as ever *Connaght* had, hoſpitable to admiration, bountifull without compare, ſo liberal to the Poor, that he never denied a conſiderable Alms to any ſuch perſon craving it in the name of Chriſt; inſomuch, that when at any time he wanted money about him, he ſtrip'd himſelf, and gave his very Cloaths off his back to help them: I ſay this *Guaire*, ſo good a man and King too, after his ſaid defeat, rallying his Troops again the next day, and then conſulting the Chief among 'em, whether he ſhould venture another Fight, or go freely of himſelf and ſubmit to *Diarmuids* mercy: and by their advice chooſing the latter, and therefore going preſently to the Victors Camp, entring his Tent, and laying himſelf in an humble poſture on his knees before him, begging pardon: *Diarmuid* nevertheleſs, without any regard either of the inconſtancy of Fortune, or of *Guaire*'s voluntary ſubmiſſion, or penitent poſture, or of his regal dignity, or of his renowned vertues, without other ceremony or more adoe, commands him to lie down on his back, while himſelf ſtanding up, held one foot on his breaſt, and the point of his Sword between his fore-teeth. 'Tis true,

that

that after this trial made, he did *Guaire* no further hurt; yet that does not wipe off the excessive pride and barbarity of the action or trial it self.

How ever, before I pass from this instance, it will not be amiss to let the Reader know, that notwithstanding all the praises given by *Keting* to this *Connaught* King *Guaire*, yet he was the very man, (as even *Keting* himself elsewhere relates it) who had the Bishop *Ceallach*, Disciple to St. *Cieran* of *Cluan mhac Noise*, and eldest Son to *Eoghan Bell*, the former King of *Connacht*, murdered by three of that Bishops own Servants: which happen'd in the Reign of the former Monarch *Tuathal Maolgharbh*. These Villains *Guaire* suborn'd to commit this horrid sacriledge: and this only on account or suppostion of the said Bishops endeavouring to make friends for his own younger Brother to recover that Kingdom of *Connaght*, which his Father *Eoghain Bell* had some time before enjoy'd, and held all along till death.

Third instance, and it is an instance, I think, of very inhuman rigour. *Aodh Ainmbirioch*, another Christian Monarch of this time (for he came to the Sovereignty within eight years after *Diarmuids* death; and we have spoken of him before, as who held the great Parliament for 13 months at *Dromceatha*) was so rigorous to *Scanlane Mor mhac Cinfoale*, King

of

of *Offory* being his Prisoner, that he commanded him to be straightly bound in Prison with twelve chains of Iron loading him; fed only with salt Beef; allowed not a drop of any kind of liquor, no not so much as of water to drink; had all this rigour effectually put in execution against him, and rejected even *Columb-Cille*'s Petition for his release, though come of purpose out of *Scotland* to obtain it.

And so I have done with my Instances, nor have I more to say in reference to them. Only that although I cannot tell what reasons either of these two Christian Monarchs had for such extream rigour towards Christian Princes of their own Nation, though their Prisoners, or at their mercy: nor can tell, as to particulars, how considerably this cruel usage did add unto, or inflame the former' feuds: Yet this much I can tell, that neither of them had other than a violent death: the former murder'd by *Aodh Dubh mhac Suibhne*; the later kill'd in Battel by *Brandubh* King of *Leinster*, as I have said before, upon another occasion. And so by consequence I have likewise done with all my special remarks on this large subject of the manifold bloody Feuds of that Nation, both in the time of their Paganism, and in that of their being under the Gospel of Christ: for I intended no more such heer than I have given.

Which

Which is the reaſon, that now returning once more thither, where I was before, I conclude at laſt this long *Section* with one general remark on that People, as they were under the Goſpel in the more early Ages of it among them. *viz.* That from the killing of their foreſaid Chriſtian Monarch *Aodh mhac Ainmhirioch* (the laſt we ſpake of here) the Fate not only of the *Mileſians*, but other *Gathelians* whatſoever in *Ireland*, and the *Genius* of their Kings, Princes, Nobles, and other Martial men, continuing for 300 years after him, the very ſame it had been in the Age before him, carried them on perpetually, from time to time, fighting, and ſlaying, and murthering one another at home, until the four and twentieth of thoſe Chriſtian Monarchs of theirs, who died violent deaths by the hands of their own *Iriſh* Subjects within the firſt 400 years of Chriſtian Religion generally planted among 'em, by name *Aodh Ollann*, had been ſlaughter'd in the Battel of *Seir* by *Domhnal mhac Murchadha*, that immediatly ſucceeded him. Nay until that in this *Domhnal's* Reign, which continued 42 years, and the Reign of his Succeſſor *Niall Fraſſach*, which laſted but four, beſides *Colman*, the Biſhop of *Laoſaine* murdered by *Vibh Tuirtre*, the Battel of *Beallach Cro*, between *Criomthan mhac Enno* and *Fionn mhac Airb*, the Battel of *Beallach Gaura*n, be-

between *Mac Conchearca* King of *Offory*, and *Dunghall* King of *Vibh Cionſallach*, kill'd therein; the Battel of *Leagea*, betwixt *Vibh Mbruine* and *Vibh Mainne*; the Battel of *Corann* betwixt *Cinneal Connail* and *Cionneal Eogbain*; and finally the killing of *Combhaſgach* King of *Ibh-Failghe* by *Maolduin mbac Aodha Beannainn* King of *Mounſter* (whether in Battel, or out of Battel, I know not) had fill'd up at laſt brim full the meaſure of their domeſtick unnatural ſlaughters happening within that term of time, their firſt four Centuries of Chriſtianity.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

National sins. Very slight causes of War. Cormock Ulfada's *beard*; Muircadhagh's Tirioghs *revenge*; *and the three* Colla's *War on* Ferghusa Fogha *King of* Eumhna. *Sundry warnings from God to the* Irish *Christians (but not like the judgment at* Magh-Sleachta, *or the other by* Loch Earne *on their Pagan Predecessors.)* 1. *The loss of all their Dominions abroad.* 2. *Those two Epidemical Plagues at home, called the* Crom-Chonnioll *and* Buy-Chonnioll. 3. *Mortality of Kine, and great Famin that follow'd.* 4. *Those three or four Inroads made into their Country by the* Saxons *and* Brittons. 5. *Prodigies, with another extraordinary Famin. Notwithstanding all, no amendment. This instanc'd in the death of the Monarch's* Loinnseach, Conghall Cinn, Fearrghall, Foghartach, *and* Kionaoth. *What of* Flaithiortach? *The flood-gates of the North set open at last to pour Vengeance on this contumacious people. Yet they amidst all continue their intestine feuds. Witness the Monarchs* Aodh Ordnigh, Conchabhar mhac Donochadh, *and* Niall Caille. *A sad* Interregnum. *The particulars of their* Bondage *under* Turgesius. *The glory of their* Learning *and* Sanctity *now gone for ever. Scarce delivered from that* Bondage,

dage, *when they relapſed again far more enormouſly than before. This alſo inſtanc'd,* 1. *In eight of thoſe eleven Monarchs that Reign'd in the ſecond* Daniſh *War.* 2. *In the Reigns of thoſe other ſix following that aſſumed the* title *of* Monarchs, *though not allow'd for ſuch by near at leaſt one half of the Provinces.* Maolſeachluinn *the Second by his death put an end to the* real *Monarchy of* Ireland, *among the* Iriſh; *and* Ruaruidh O Conchabhair *ſaw in his own days not only the pretence or* ſhadow *of it gone, but the very* Being *of this Nation any more a* free People *on Earth.*

24. SUch were the National provocations of Heaven, peculiar to that People hitherto, *i. e.* for two and twenty hundred years (beſides what we ſhall yet ſee did happen after) above any other Nation of the whole Earth. Immortal Feuds of death, tyrannical oppreſſions of the Subject, cruelty as well of juſtice as revenge, Treaſon, Conſpiracies, Rebellions, Murders even of their Sovereigns, effuſion of human blood like water. And this without pity, without remorſe, without any cauſe ſometimes but very ſlight, and ſometimes vain and ridiculous. An arbitration between two religious Monks in a difference, deciding againſt one of them, muſt engage

Families

Families and Countrys in Arms, to fight it out in Battel, and cut one another in pieces. A known Murtherer proscrib'd as unpardonable by their most sacred Laws, and therefore justly put to death by the Monarch, must nevertheless, on pretence of his being seiz'd upon after he had been received into the protection of an Abbot, be a just cause of rebelling and fighting that very Monarch, and killing his whole Army to boot. Nay, one single Beast, a Cow, at most but very little worth, taken away I know not how from the owner, was the only cause of a great Battel fought between the same Monarch and the Provincial King of *Connaught*, and a Battel wherein most of the Gentry of that Province and *Mounster* too were kill'd. As if neither the Assailant nor Defendant, tho Christian Kings both, could find any other way to satisfie the poor Woman that was rob'd of that Cow: or rather, indeed, as if they had sported to with the lives not only of their Subjects, but of their Friends.

I say nothing of the Candle-snuff, or of its firing the Monarch *Cormack Ulfada*'s beard at an entertainment given him in *Maig-Breag* by *Giolla* King of *Ulster*, who snuffing a Candle, instead of throwing it aside, threw it (whether by chance, or of purpose) into *Cormack*'s long beard, which presently catch'd and burn'd up to his tresses. Only I say, That however this

this ridiculous matter happen'd or pass'd at that time, it cost *Ulster* dear, long after *Cormack*'s death. That *Muireadhach Tiriogh*, the great Grand-child of this *Cormack*, and sixth King of *Ireland* after him, took it for a pretence to pour an Army of one and twenty thousand men under the command of the three *Collaes* into *Ulster*, to destroy it, and conquer as much Land for themselves in it as they could. That in pursuance of this Order, they made so sharp War on *Ferghus Fogha* King of *Eumhna* there, that in seven several Fights against him, fought seven days consequently, without the interposition of one free day, they had the killing and taking of all the *Ulster* Forces: having as they beat 'em, still pursued them all along from *Cearnagha* to *Gleann Ruigh*. That being Masters of the Field, they returned back to *Eumhna*, spoil'd it, burn'd it, and destroy'd it so, that never after any King resided there. Finally, that by this expedition they conquer'd for themselves the large Territories of *Modharnaigh*, *Vibh Criosnthaine*, and *Vibh mhic Vaise*, which their Posterities after them did hold, while the *Milesian* Kingdom stood in *Ireland*.

But I pass over these matters depending on *Cormack*'s beard: not because he and the rest mention'd in this story were Pagans (for I shall have occasion yet to speak somewhat, tho-

but little, of as great Pagans as they :) but because peradventure the cause it self was not slight. Tho however I must acknowledg the punishment was too severe and unjust : as neither inflicted on the Criminals, nor on any that ought in such a distance of time to suffer for them ; much less after legal summons, or any respit given them, to make reparation under peril of abiding the justice of Arms. But leaving this to the Readers judgment,

I return back to the Christian Princes, where I was before animadverting the sport they made, on the slightest causes that well might be, of the lives of so many thousands of other Christians, their own faithful Friends and Subjects. Yet what I am to consider now, is another thing. It is, That all this while nor they nor their Successors after 'em for 300 years more, seem'd any way sensible that the All-avenging God began already to warn them. For so in truth he did, and that not once nor twice, but much oftner, within that very term of time, even while they were in their full career persecuting one another at home, with the greatest violence of deadly Foes. In which respect he dealt far otherwise, that is much more kindly and mercifully with them, than he had done with their Pagan Fore-fathers in that very Land ; upon whom, about a hundred years after their conquering it, without

out any ſuch gracious Fatherly warnings given them (for ought we find in Hiſtory) he laid on a ſudden the whole weight of his heavy hand in a moſt prodigious manner, at two ſeveral times. For what could be more dreadfully prodigious than that which I have related before, and you may remember here, three parts of four of all the people of *Ireland*, together with their Monarch *Tighernmbuir* (who was the tenth from *Heber*) ſlain in one only night upon *Maigh-Sleacht*, by inviſible Demons, the Executioners of Gods fury enrag'd againſt them? Or what, next to that, could be more prodigiouſly terrible than a rich Plain of forty miles long, and fourteen, fifteen, ſixteen miles broad, in moſt places, throughly planted, and thick of Inhabitants, in *Ulſter*, to be on a ſudden over-flown, cover'd over with a deluge of waters, burſt out of its own intrels, and neither Man, nor Woman, nor Child, nor Beaſt, nor other goods of ſo large a tract of ground to be ſaved, but all in one hour periſh'd under this Flood of God's avenging irreſiſtible wrath?

How-ever, becauſe their heinous Idolatry, *i.e.* their univerſal adoration and proſtration of themſelves before their grand Idol *Crom Chruaigh*, which by all circumſtances, was the ſin that brought upon 'em the former of thoſe two ſtupendious Judgments, though it was

national, yet it was not peculiar to their Nation only: and becauſe the moſt beaſtly of ſins (whence it has its proper name of *Beſtiality*) which brought the latter of the ſame Judgments on thoſe beſtial Wretches that ſo aſtoniſhingly periſh'd for it, was peculiar only to that tract of ground, or rather indeed to them who were Inhabitants of it, and no way National, or involving or affecting ſo much as any one other part of *Ireland*: therefore I paſs over theſe puniſhments, as not inflicted (either of them) upon the *Iriſh* Nation, for thoſe enormities which I have ſaid before, were both National and peculiar to them. Beſides *Cambden* himſelf declares in particular, as to the latter of the ſaid Judgments, how the *Iriſh* Annals deny thoſe beſtial Inhabitants of the deſtroyed Valley to have been other than *certain Iſlanders out of the* Hebrides, *who being fled out of their own Country, lurked there*, and conſequently deny them to have been at all of the *Iriſh* Nation, much more deny 'em to have been either of the *Mileſian* or *Gathelian* Race.

Cambden's Ireland, in the County of *Fermanagh*, pag. 106.

Keting. Then *Keting*, tho he tells us particularly (in the Reign of the foreſaid *Tighernmhuir*) of the breaking out of that Inundation of Water, the great Lough *Earn*, which it preſently made, and ſo continues ever ſince;

ſince; yet has not a word of the horrible ſin of *Beſtiality*, as neither indeed of any other ſin or cauſe whatſoever thereof on the part of the Inhabitants. And laſtly *Cambrenſis*, who is the firſt Author of this relation, brings no other warrant for it but hear-ſay. *Giral. Cambr. Topog. Hib. diſt. 11. cap. 9.*

Yet be it, or be the original of Lough *Earn* (ſo famous ever ſince for Fiſhing) what you pleaſe: what I would be at to tell you here, is, That after that prodigious eruption of Water in the *North*, and the no leſs (if not far more) prodigious ſlaughter on *Maghſleacht* (we may call it in *Engliſh* the *Field of Adoration*) in *Letrim*; both which happen'd in the Reign of the ſelf-ſame King, and near the ſame time, about 2900 years ago: We do not find in the *Iriſh* Chronicles, that God had once in any ſpecial or viſible manner concern'd himſelf either in warning or puniſhing that People (at leaſt otherwiſe than by themſelves) until they became Chriſtians; but let them go on ſecurely without controul from him in thoſe National peculiar enormities of their own: I mean their immortal Feuds, and prodigal effuſion of human blood, even that of their own Country-men and Kinſmen, on every little occaſion. That nevertheleſs he continued ſtill their Victories and Dominions abroad unto

them, and gave them the ſpoils of Forein Kingdoms to enrich their own at home: and all this for cauſes known to his unſearchable Wiſdom, but wholly unknown to us: at leaſt otherwiſe than by conjecture, that he had peradventure ſo long contain'd his Wrath in his mercy, for the ſake of thoſe vaſt numbers of holy Men and Women, thoſe great Saints who were in after Ages to iſſue from their Loyns, and to carry his glorious Name far and near by Preaching the Goſpel, and converting ſo many incredulous Nations to him, as they did. That after they were become Chriſtians, and yet nevertheleſs purſued the bloody courſes of their Pagan Anceſtors, and not only purſued but exceeded them, as being wholly intent upon deſtroying one another at home: he thought it now high time to warn them as his Children. And that he did ſo both early and loudly, and often, by laying his hand upon them with ſmart enough, though not to their extermination or deſtruction as yet.

25. It was within the firſt Century of Chriſtian Religion among them, he warn'd 'em with the loſs of all their Dominions abroad, The *Orcades*, and the *Hebrides*, and all the Iſlands, not *Mannuina* (or Iſle of *Man*) it ſelf excepted; nay, the *Terra Firma* of *Scotland*, and all their Conqueſts and Plantations there, both ancient and late, thoſe very Deſcendants

ſcendants of their own loyns, renounced utterly in that very Age any further payment of Tribute, or Chiefry, or other duty of Allegiance or ſubjection to them. And I think any indifferent looker on would eſteem ſo great a loſs then, both an early and loud warning indeed given them to amend. But they did not regard it, as not touching them yet in their ſenſible Being at home. And therefore God proceeds thenceforwards by other (*i. e.* by nearer and keener) methods, touching 'em to the quick, where they ſhould have more feeling. Such undoubtedly were thoſe two dreadful Plagues; the one in the Reign of *Diarmuid mhic Fergbuſſa mhic Cairrbheoil*, which they call'd *Crom-Choinnioll* (in *Engliſh* the *Fading* or *Falling Candle*,) that ſwept away infinit numbers of them; yea, very many of their moſt admired Saints, and among others *Mac Dail* the Patron of *Kilcullin*: the other call'd by them *an Bhuidh Choinnioll*, or the *Yellow Candle*, no leſs contagiouſly mortal; whereof, even their very Sovereigns, in whoſe Reigns it happen'd, the two Brothers *Blaithmhac* and *Diarmuid Ruanaigh* died. Such alſo were thoſe three or four ſeveral Invaſions and inroads made into their Country by the *Saxons* and *Brittons*, either in conjunction or apart, cloſe one after another. The firſt of them in the joynt Sovereignty of the foreſaid two Bro-

thers: when the *Iriſh*, who had ſo long and ſo unnaturally fought one another, were now conſtrain'd to fight a forein and common Enemy at their own doors at home, and give them Battel at a place call'd *Pantli*. The ſecond in the Reign of *Fionachta Fleadhach*, when *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland* ſent an Army under the conduct of one *Brit* or *Berthus*, to Invade 'em. Who, as Venerable *Beda* * relates it, in the year of Chriſt, 684. ſo miſerably waſted the *Iriſh* Nation, though a Nation moſt harmleſs to others, and always moſt friendly in particular to the *Engliſh*, that he ſpared neither Church nor Chappel, nor Monaſtery. His Army (ſays *Keting* in the Reign of the foreſaid *Fir-nachta*) ſpoil'd and burn'd all the Sea-coaſts of *Leinſter*, without any difference put between ſacred and profane. And either a little before or after this devaſtation it was that in the ſame Reign they, or ſome other Forces Landing out of *Great Britain*, fought the *Iriſh* in the Battel named *Cath Rath Moire* in *Moghlinne*; where beſides a great many of the latter, *Comhuſgach* a *Pictiſh* King was loſt. Laſtly, in the Reign of

* *Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis*, 684. *Egfridus Rex Northanhymbrorum miſſo in Hiberniam* [*Scotorum Inſulam*] *cum exercitu Duce Bertho, vaſtauit miſere Gentem innoxiam, & Nationi Anglorum ſemper amiciſſimam; ita ut nec Eccleſiis quidem aut Monaſteriis manus parceret hoſtilis.* l. 4. c. 26.

of *Loinnſioch mhic Aonghuſſa*, the *Brittons* prey'd, harras'd, ranſack'd the whole Country call'd *Magh-Mhuir Theimhne*, until the fortune of a Battel, I mean that of *Cullinn*, or *Muigh Cullinn*, which the *Ultonians* were compell'd to at laſt, made them retire.

Beſides theſe ſeveral Inroads touching them pretty near the quick at home, in divers parts of their Country, the mercy of God, ſeeing not their amendment yet, was pleas'd in this very *Loinnſioch*'s Reign to try other means more general to the whole Nation of *Ireland*, by afflicting them all with ſuch a Mortality of their Kine, and Famin thence enſuing and continuing for three years, in ſuch extremity, that men ate one another, as *Keting* writes. But neither was this kind of warning any whit more effectual to work a Reformation. For *Loinnſioch* himſelf, their Monarch, was kill'd in Battel by *Ceallach* King of *Connaght*. And, after his immediate Succeſſor *Conghall Kinn*, who moſt ſacrilegiouſly rob'd and burn'd as well all the Churches and Sanctuaries, as all the reſt of the Town of *Kildare*, before he was ſeiz'd upon by a ſudden death; the juſt reward of his Sacriledge, as all men thought in thoſe days: the very next three Monarchs, *Fearrghall*, *Foghartach*, and *Kionaoth*, were all of 'em, one after another, kill'd in three Battels fought by their own Coutrey-men and Subjects

jects againſt them. And though *Flaithiortoch*, immediate Succeſſor to the laſt of theſe three, eſcaped violent death by making himſelf the only happy man of all the *Iriſh* Monarchs (at leaſt of all until his time, except *Maolchoba*) in putting off voluntarily his Royal Robe, changing it for a Religious Weed, and both living and dying in peace, a profeſs'd Monk in the Monaſtery of *Ardmagh*; yet he that ſucceeded him next in the Sovereignty, *Aodh Ollan* was kill'd in Battel by *Domhnal mhac Murchadha*, as we have ſeen before.

All which notwithſtanding, the patience and goodneſs of God to them ſtill was ſuch, that he would warn them yet, and warn 'em indeed now even by prodigies and wonders, both in Heaven above, and in the Earth below. In the Reign of this *Domhnal mhac Murchadha*, who both kill'd and ſucceeded *Aodh Ollan*, the form of a hideous horrible Serpent appear'd a long time, moving over their heads in the Firmament. And in his next Succeſſor, *Niall Fraſſach*'s Reign, the Earth under 'em throughout *Ireland* ſhut up her fruitful Womb in ſuch extraordinary manner, that ſhe deign'd them no return at all of their Seed; but inſtead thereof, brought upon them a ſecond, and it a moſt cruel, moſt univerſal Famin through all their Quarters. Then follow'd in the Monarch *Aodh Ordnighe*'s Reign that Prodigious Thunder

der and Lightning, which in one little nook of the Land, between *Corca Bhaiſgin* and the Sea, kill'd in a trice a thouſand and ſeven perſons dead. What ſhall I ſay of that wonderful threefold, and peradventure greateſt prodigy of all, pour'd down from Heaven in a tripartite diviſion, at the Birth of the foreſaid *Niall Fraſſach?* I mean thoſe three ſtupendious ſhowers fallen at that time on three ſeveral Fields in *Ireland*: the one of Honey, on *Fothanbeg*; the other of Silver, on *Fothain mhor*, and the third of blood, on *Maigh-Laghonn*. Indeed according to *Keting*, they fell in the Reign of the above *Fearrghall*, the ſeventh Monarch in order aſcending up from this *Niall*, ſurnamed *Fraſſach* in *Iriſh*, (in Latin *Nimboſus* or *Imbricus*) from thoſe wonderful ſhowers happening at his Nativity. And though I am no Diviner to interpret what they portended for certain; yet taking the ſhower of blood in conjunction with thoſe other Prodigies that one after another ſo cloſely follow'd in ſo ſmall a tract of time and circumſtances of *Ireland*; I think he would not judge amiſs that took it for one of the very laſt warnings from Heaven to this Nation, that the Anger of God was now on the point of overcoming all his patience; and his rage and fury at hand,

ſince

since nothing else would do *. Certainly the sequel did soon evince it to have been so.

* *And indeed it ought the rather to be taken so, because that much contrary to* Ketings *relation, so good an Author as* Tigernacus *many hundred years before his time has told us, that the shower of Blood fell in the Reign of this* Niall; *and that the three showers fallen at his Birth, were one of Honey, one of Silver, and one of wheat.*

26. For not long after that Prodigious Thunder and Lightning which hapned in the Reign of *Aodh Ordnigh*, the patience of God being wearied, and his justice inrag'd by the unreclaimable contumacy of that People, he call'd out of their Northern Enclosures his exterminating Angels, the Heathen *Danes*, *Norvegians*, and other *Easternlings*, and in the same Reign of *Aodh Ordnigh* pour'd them in on *Ireland*, to execute on the Christian *Irish* those very heaviest of Judgments that either such former Warnings would have prevented, or such later Prodigies had predicted, or that any People in the World for so many years after did suffer. Except only those, if any such have been, whom God design'd to extinguish totally root and branch: or the incredulous *Jews* that must be still preserv'd, though still dispers'd among all Nations, to be a living Monument of Gods Vengeance on the unpardonable sin of their Ancestors. But the sin of the

the *Iriſh*, how heinous ſoever, was not of that kind: nor was it the deſign of God to extinguiſh or extirpate them yet. And yet this firſt War of the *Danes* upon them, beſides its having fully paid all their old ſcores to God, that is, abundantly puniſh'd them for above 40 years at leaſt, in the very ſame methods they had offended him, and therefore covered all their Provinces with blood and aſhes, and horrors of death, without any diſcrimination of People, or Profeſſions, or Parties, it reduced them at laſt to a bondage and ſlavery far ſurpaſſing the *Egyptian*, *Circaſſian*, or any other I have read of any where on earth.

For to paſs over the life worſe than death, that thoſe of their Church-men that eſcaped the Sword were forc'd unto: and in particular how *Foranan*, with a few more of the Clergy of *Ardmagh* *, having fled ſo far as *Caſhel* firſt; and together with the Archbiſhop of that See, and his Clergy too, thence again to the horrible habitation of Bogs, Woods, Rocks, and Subterranean Caves about, or not far off

* Gracianus Lucius, *p.* 328. *relates this matter otherwiſe. He ſays, that* Turgeſius *having taken the city of* Ardmagh, *in the year* 843. *or* 848. *made* Foranan, *and all the Clergy and Religious men, and all the reſt of the Students too of that univerſity, Priſoners, and Ship'd them all for* Limmeric, *which his People held in their poſſeſſion at that time. What became of them there, or any where elſe after that time, we have no account.*

off *Iomlaigh Fobhair*, must have been content to hide themselves there, and even to lurk for several years like wild Beasts: But, I say, to pass over this condition of their Church-men only, wherever any of them did scape the Sword; who cannot but be astonisht at the particulars of their bondage in general?

These particulars I have omitted before: and therefore give them now for better satisfaction to the Reader. 1. *Every Cantbred, or Division of ground containing one of our Baronies, had a* Danish *King: every Tuath, or Seigniory, a Chieftain: every Church a Lay-*Danish-*Heathen Abbot: every Town a Serjeant: every House a Souldier Cess'd (the* Irish *call'd him a* Saitrioch, *or* Buanna:) *all of 'em* Danes; *and each commanding absolutely within his own Precinct, only subordinate respectively to the higher, till they came to the Supream, who was* Turgesius *himself.* 2. *The very* Buanna *did so command the House wherein he was Cess'd, that not so much as an Egg, or cup of Milk could be disposed of till he had been serv'd; though in the mean time a Sucking Babe did perish for want of it. And if his Host had but one Cow in the World, he must have kill'd her upon demand to give him flesh. Or failing therein, or in any other thing demanded of him, he was presently taken and lead away Prisoner to the next* Danish *Rath, where he was sure to be detain'd in Fetters till he had fully satisfied all the*

Buanna's

Buanna's *demands either of Victuals, Money, or any thing else whatever.* 3. *Every House-keeper must have yearly paid into the Treasury an ounce of Gold (the* Irish *call'd it* Vinghe Oir: *) and failing, have his Nose cut off: which made them call this kind of Tax* Nose-rent. 4. *Neither Lord nor Lady, much less an inferior person suffer'd to wear new Cloaths; but only the Cast-cloaths of the* Danes. 5. *None to keep School, or be taught any kind of Learning, not even in their own Houses.* 6. *None to enter any Monastery, Church, or Chappel: for they were all possess'd by the* Danes. 7. *None to have either Clergy-man, or any other Learned man, Philosopher, Poet, Lawyer, or other Artist, whom they call* Sruithe. 8. *None suffer'd to have any kind of Book; but all Books the* Danes *could light upon, either burn'd or taken away by them.* 9. *Neither Lords nor Princes, nor even Kings Daughters permitted to embroider in Gold or Silver, or so much as work in any kind of Silk.* 10. *Nor even Kings Sons to learn or use any feats of activity.* 11. *None of what quality soever permitted to give or take any kind of entertainment, not even from or with his private Familiars; but all of 'em must e'n have contented themselves with the Leavings of the* Danes.

I say nothing of that other barbarous Imposition forc'd on every Bride; at her first Marriage to lye the first night with the *Danish* Captain of the Precinct, before she had Bedded her

her Husband, if the Captain desired it; but if he did not, or dislik'd her, in either case to pay him a certain Tax in Money. How much this Money was, I cannot say. Tho I have known a custom derived thence, to have been continued in my own time by a Christian Landlord of *English* extraction, one Mr. *Scurlog* (who was commonly call'd *Scurlog* the *Poet*,) a Gentleman of two or three hundred a year in the County of *Wexford*. To whom every Maid living upon his Land, when she was Married, was bound to pay, and accordingly did pay half a Crown *English* money, if he did not remit it. However, I pass over that Heathen *Danish* Original of this Un-christian custom, because I find nothing of it in Doctor *Keting*.

Those other manifold particulars of the *Irish* bondage undoubtedly true, besides all their riches lost, and all their best blood spill'd, and all their Provinces and Countries laid in Ashes, during this first *Danish* War, before they were totally subdued, give us to understand sufficiently, to what degree their everlasting feuds and obstinacy had incensed Heaven. An obstinacy it was indeed so strangely, so inveterately and unreclaimably fix'd, that not even all the present terrors of so many mighty Fleets of those Heathenish cruel Barbarians, pouring in Armies and new Supplies continually

tinually for ſo many years together from all the four winds, into all their Provinces, could remove it, or make them relent.

For 1. *Aodh Ordnighe* himſelf, the Monarch in whoſe Reign the *Danes* begun their firſt Invaſion of *Ireland*, after he had twice in one month prey'd and ſpoil'd *Leinſter*, was by one *Maolcannaid*, in the Battel of *Fearta*, fighting againſt his own Rebellious *Iriſh* Subjects, kill'd. 2. The next ſucceeding him, namely *Conchabhar mhac Donchadhâ*, who Reigned 14. years, though he had the fortune to die in his Bed, and (for ought I can find) never once in his life to have fought the *Danes*, notwithſtanding their ſore incurſions often made upon his Subjects within that extent of time: yet he had the good leiſure, and took the opportunity of giving Battel to the *Galleanguibh*, his own Country-men, at the Fair of *Tailtean*. 3. Again, his immediate Succeſſor *Niall Caille* (who was ſur-named *Caille* from his being drown'd in the River of *Callon*; but drown'd as he was attempting to perform a very charitable deed. For being to paſs this River, and ſeeing it high, and therefore having commanded a young man to try it: and then obſerving this youth preſently in danger, and all others refuſing to hazard themſelves to reſcue him from the violence of the flood; he ſpur'd on his own Horſe to do it himſelf. But

it pleas'd God that the bank breaking under the fore-feet of the Horſe, he tumbled down, and ſo was loſt.) This *Niall Caille*, I ſay, Reigning likewiſe 14 years more, and conſequently in the very mightieſt heat of this former *Daniſh* War: and therefore (a man would think) having need enough to employ all his power that way; as he did indeed when he gave the *Danes* Battel at *Magh-Ith*, and worſted 'em too: yet withal was ſo unfortunate, as to have (whether juſtly or unjuſtly, I know not) at two ſeveral times during his Reign, and the laſt of them but a little before that Battel, made War on his own Country-men: that is, with a great Army waſted *Leath Cuinn*, firſt from *Bimrha* to *Teambhuir*, and then again *Fercaill* and *Deallbhna Ethra*.

So that, I think, by theſe Inſtances of the only three Monarchs that Reign'd while the firſt *Daniſh* War continued, it appears how little Reformation of their bloody Feuds, all the terrors of ſo many mighty Fleets pouring in foreign Enemies continually, had wrought in that People, at leaſt in their Princes, Nobles, and other Men of War. Which undoubtedly we may juſtly think to have been it, or at leaſt a moſt extreamly provoking addition to it, that by this time exaſperated Heaven, and even forc'd the Almighty to pour without further delay the very utmoſt of thoſe evils deſign'd

either

either by his justice or mercy to punish them. For now, that is, upon the death of *Niall Caille*, in the River of *Callainn*, their Monarchy, Kingdom, Dominion ceased e'en as intirely at home, as it had long before abroad. There was no more Monarch in *Ireland* now; but the saddest *Interregnum* that ever Christian People had, or Heathen Enemies could wish 'em: None, I am sure, either of the *Milesian*, or other *Gathelian* Race. No more King henceforth over that People, but that barbarous Heathen *Turgesius*, who assumed that title to himself till the days of their bondage under him were over, even that very bondage which I have before, tho only in part describ'd. No more now the *Island of Saints*, nor the *Mart of Literature* in *Ireland*. No more *Beannchuir* to be seen, but in Ashes now a second time, and all the Learned holy Monks thereof Murder'd by those cruel *Danes*, and buried under its rubbish. No more the Monastery of *Fionbhar* at *Corck*, which had 700 Conventual Monks, and together with them 17 Bishops at one time wholly devoting themselves to a contemplative life. No more now the most wonderful Cloister of all for Angelical Visions and Communications under S. *Mochada*, at *Ratha* first, and then at *Lismore*, containing no fewer hundreds of the most stupendious Monks for Sanctity that ever have been in any

Age or Nation. No more the celebrated Cells of *Magh-Bile*, or any at all of ſo many other holy places ecchoing forth continually the praiſes of God. No more the renowned Schools of *Dun-da-Leathghlaiſs*, *Ardmagh*, *Liſmore*, or *Caſhell*. No more Univerſity, nor Academy, nor Colledge of Learning in all the Land: nor Foregners coming to admire and ſtudy in them: nor ſo much as the Natives to enter them, but only to ſtand aloof, and weep over their ruins, as the *Jews* did over *Jeruſalem* in the Emperor *Adrians* time.

This was the deplorable condition of the *Gathelian* off-ſpring in *Ireland*, which the heynous enormity of their no leſs National than peculiar ſins, and among the reſt their ſtrange contempt of ſo many fair warnings from God given them continually from time to time above 300 years, brought them to at laſt, and kept them in until his Juſtice was in ſome meaſure ſatisfied. For ſo long he continued the *Interregnum* of their Monarchs, and ſlavery of all their People under that Heathen Tyrant *Turgeſius*.

And though I cannot exactly tell, at leaſt be poſitive in it, how many years in all this miſerable condition of theirs laſted, I mean as to the general Bondage of the whole Nation univerſally in every Province and Part: becauſe we do not certainly know in what year of

of *Aodh Ordnighs* Reign the *Danes* firſt entr'd: yet I can ſay out of *Keting*, that under other Commanders they Warred 12 years on the *Iriſh* before *Turgheſius* Landed in *Ireland* out of *Norway* with a much mightier Fleet than any of the former. That he continued his joynt endeavours with the reſt of the Heathen Invaders in carrying on, and proſecuting the moſt cruel War could be againſt the Natives for 17 years more, before he was choſen Captain General of all the Invaders, both *White Danes* & *Black Danes* * and *Eaſterlings*; which conſequently he was in the 29th. year of this former *Daniſh* War. That now he went on furiouſly, ſpoiling, ranſacking, deſtroying all before him every where; but particularly with ſeveral Fleets of ſmall Veſſels and Boats all the Iſlands in *Loch Neachach*, *Loch Erna*, *Loch Riogh*, and other great Lakes of *Ireland*. And that being at laſt wholly Maſter of the Field, and taking advantage of the *Interregnum* after *Nial Caille*'s death (for none of the whole *Iriſh* Nation had

* *So the* Iriſh *diſtinguiſh 'em, calling the* Norvegians *the* White Danes, *and thoſe arrived from* Denmark *it ſelf the* Black Danes. *though in their own Language the general or common name they give them, and the* Eaſterlings *too is* Loghlonnuidh, *which ſays* Keting, *imports* Great Robuſtious Scourers *of the ſea. For* Lon *in old* Iriſh *is a ſtrong man, and* Loch *the Seas*

the ambition, or luſt, or heart, or valour now to entitle himſelf to that Soveraignty which had coſt their Fore-fathers ſo many hundred Battels, and ſuch Rivers of blood to conquer it from one another) he now uſurps the title, as he had before the power of King of *Ireland*; though not acknowledged for ſuch by the *Iriſh*, at leaſt not otherwiſe than by the meereſt Galley-ſlaves their cruel unjuſt tormentors may be. In fine, that how long, or how ſhort ſoever it continued after this, although it was indeed unſupportable to any human Creatures not wholly devoid of ſenſe or feeling: nevertheleſs it was no other than the moſt eminently prophetical Saints of that Nation, *Columb-Cille* and *Berchane*, obſerving even in their own time the deteſtable Pride, Ambition, Injuſtice, Violence, Licentiouſneſs, Averſation from all good Government, ſo common and ſo ingrafted in their great Lords and Chieftains, had 200 years before it happen'd, fore-told ſhould happen as a juſt judgment from God upon ſo ſinful a Generation of men. And, which is very remarkable, that *Columb-Cille* particuly foretold how, in that very Monaſtery which in his time had been founded at *Ardmacha*, ſuch a Heathen powerful Stranger from beyond Seas, and ſuch in all reſpects as *Turgheis* was, ſhould make himſelf Abbot of it; as verily he did, upon his chaſing away *Foranan* the Chriſtian Abbot,

Abbot, long before he had assum'd the Title of King of *Ireland*. Yea, and (which I am sure is no less, if not more remarkable yet) that *Berchan* in express terms prophesied how under such a Forreign Tyrant every Church or *Cill* in *Ireland* should be possess'd by an Abbot of his Gang.

27. Besides, I can inform you, that altho, in regard of the extraordinary mortifications offered, and prayers incessantly pour'd out to God by the small remainder of the *Irish* Clergy, who had hitherto saved themselves in uncouth horrid Wildernesses, he was mercifully pleas'd, as *Keting* says, about this time, *i. e.* after some few years of the universal Bondage, to inspire that counsel to *Maolseachluinn mhac Mhaolruanuidh*, the *Irish* King of *Meath*, which as we have related before, destroy'd both the Tyrant himself, and all his Armies, and Fortifications too on a sudden, and consequently set all the *Irish* Nation free; being now restored every private person to his former possessions, as the Lords and Princes, and Provincial Kings were each of them to his own respective jurisdiction at large; and the said *Maolseachluinn*, by common consent made Monarch; and so their Policy and power of Dominion at home fully recovered: Yet so were not their Riches, their Treasures, their Gold, Silver, and Jewels, those former spoils of so

many forreign Provinces, & for ſo many hundred years gathered home to *Ireland* by their Pagan Predeceſſors. During ſo many ſtrong impreſſions of the late conquering Heathen Foe into the very heart and all the moſt ſecret receſſes of *Ireland*, all were taken by them, and carried away by their ſeveral Fleets, ſome to *Norway*, ſome to *Denmark*, and the reſt to other Eaſtern Borderers on the *German* or *Baltick* Sea. And which was a greater loſs to the Learned, their Libraries, their Books were never recover'd. Only the few Religious men that preſerv'd themſelves, preſerved alſo a few of their Books. But the greateſt loſs of all was not only of Learning in the *Mart of Litterature*, but of Sanctity in the *Iſland of Saints*. Neither the one nor the other was ever at any time after this reſtor'd in *Ireland*, at leaſt not near the former degree of eminence. The only thing, the only virtue indeed, that after ſo many great loſſes, revived illuſtriouſly, and continued eminently conſpicuous in that People, was their Military proweſs, their Valour, Bravery, Fortitude in the ſecond *Daniſh* War; to ſay nothing more of their deſtroying *Turgeſius*, and all his Forces, by help of that ſtratagem which ended the firſt. And yet I muſt confeſs that all their Martial ſpirit in that very ſecond War did exert it ſelf in, was only in defending themſelves at home, without any

deſign

design or thought (for ought appears to us) of imitating those former Heroes among their Ancestors, that carried the terror of their Arms both far and near abroad.

The truth is, they were no sooner enfranchiz'd from the Tyranny of *Turgesius*, than they resign'd themselves wholly to ease and rest, and a life of extream, unworthy, unmasculin lazines. Insomuch that they not only neglected all kind of Navigation, and provision for it: tho they might have considered that the like neglect formerly since they became Christians, had been at least one of their greatest banes, and that which gave their Invaders the opportunity of attacking them without fear on every Quarter of their Island, whether with great or small inconsiderable Fleets: but were so far besides blinded, that having slighted all the *Danish* Fortifications throughout the Land, they made none at all in their stead, nor indeed in any place, not even on the Sea Ports, for their own defence from abroad. And which was yet more strange, would not themselves be at the trouble of guarding so much as any one of all those very Ports, but entertain'd in pay some of those very Forreigners (their late vanquisht enemies) for that employment of greatest trust, whom therefore, that is, from their being hired for pay, they call'd *Buannacidhs*. In a word,

they

they gave themſelves over to Luxury and full enjoyment of the good things of the Land; which naturally of it ſelf, without much labour, was a Country flowing with Milk and Honey, and all things elſe neceſſary both for life and pleaſure.

But the greateſt of Curſes expecting them was, that by the time (and it was but a very ſhort time when) they had ſurfeited on plenty and wantonneſs, they preſently (ſays *Keting*) return'd to their old vomit again. They renew'd their fatal Feuds, divided, were at cruel diſcord, fell a perſecuting one another like mad, as in former times, with all kind of hoſtility. This kindled anew the wrath of God againſt the Nation in general to ſuch an extream, that notwithſtanding his mercy prevail'd with him ſtill ſo far as not to bereave them of their Martial Fortitude, tho they had ſo long and ſo often, and ſo freſhly now again abus'd it ſo mightily, but to expect for a much longer time, even two or three Ages yet, their amendment and repentance before he would utterly deſtroy them: nevertheleſs he did without delay permit his juſtice to ſet open once more the Flood-gates of the *North*, to pour in the ſecond time upon them thoſe Miniſters of his Vengeance, the *Norvegians*, *Danes*, and their other barbarous Heathen Aſſociats known to us only by the name of *Oſtmans*, or

or *Eaſterlings*; and to continue their Inundations in *Ireland*, to Plague a Rebellious ungrateful Generation of Chriſtians, and plague 'em now for a hundred and fifty years more compleat. For, as I have already noted elſewhere, ſo long at leaſt did this ſecond *Daniſh* War continue heavy upon 'em, only ſome few lucid intervals it had excepted. And yet neither in the beginning, nor progreſs, nor iſſue of it, did they amend. So that Almighty God, the great Juſticier, the great Striker of them from above, might juſtly ſay to them at this time, what he had formerly ſaid to the *Jews* by the mouth of his Prophet *Jeremy*. *In vain have I ſtricken your children they received no correction.* And

Fruſtra percuſſi filios veſtros; diſciplinam non receperunt. Jerem. 2. 30.

the pious Obſerver of this continual recidivation, this fatal contumacy of theirs, Dr. *Keting* might have no leſs truly either complain'd or acknowledg'd it of them to God, than *Jeremy* did the like of his own People. *Lord, thine Eyes are upon the truth: Thou haſt ſtricken them, but they have not grieved; thou haſt conſumed them, but they have refus'd to receive correction. They have made their faces harder than a Rock: they have refus'd to return.*

Domine oculi tui reſpiciunt fidem: Percuſſiſti eos & non doluerunt: attriviſti eos, & renuerunt accipere diſciplinam: induraverunt facies ſuas ſupra petram, & noluerunt reverti. 5. 3.

To

To ſatisfie the Reader that I ſpeak not hyperbolically, or at random in this matter; I give here in ſhort a ſufficient number of inſtances that may ſerve for proofs thereof, as I find them in *Ketings* Hiſtory. Indeed they are there (I confeſs as little intentionally for this purpoſe, as much more to his purpoſe) diſperſedly given as they happen'd. That is, the former part of them in the ſeveral Reigns of eight of thoſe eleven Monarchs, that by the unanimous conſent of the Iriſh Annals and Hiſtorians, were undoubtedly ſuch over all *Ireland*, from *Maolſeachluinn* I. in whoſe Reign the ſecond *Daniſh* War begun, to *Maolſeachluinn* II. being the ſecond time elected or ſubmitted to as the Monarch, ſome few years before this long War ended: and the latter part of them likewiſe in the ſeveral Reigns of thoſe other ſix that pretended to be ſuch after this *Maolſeachluinn* II. whereof *Ruaruidh O Conchabhar* was the laſt, and conſequently of all the *Iriſh* that were any way ſuch. But for ſaving you a labour, I have collected all thoſe inſtances together, and ſo give 'em now: that if you pleaſe, you may read 'em over in a continual ſeries, without interpoſition of any thing elſe. Where, I doubt not, you will admire how notwithſtanding all the heavy preſſures in every Province of *Ireland*, by ſo many powerful foreign Enemies, and ſo many Battels fought,

fought, and ſo much blood loſt in the ſame War by the *Iriſh* defending their Countrey againſt thoſe Pagans, they could nevertheleſs have time, and men, and blood to ſpare for ſo miſchievous a work as the fighting and deſtroying one another ſo cruelly. And yet it ſeems they wanted none of all, not even ſo early as the third Battel fought by them againſt the *Danes* in this very ſecond War.

For *Maolſeachluinn* I. who had ſo Victoriouſly fought the firſt of theſe Battels, being dead in the 16th. year of his Reign; and *Aodh Fionnleath*, who had no leſs bravely fought the ſecond of them, departing this life within or immediatly after the next 16 years: *Flann mhac Sionnadh*, who then ſucceeded in the Monarchy, and Reigned 38 years, gave the fatal beginning to that new ſeries of inteſtine Broils, Depredations, Battels, Slaughters, Murders, among the Natives themſelves, that follow'd. Certainly the very firſt Act of this Monarch, I mean the firſt recorded of him in his Reign by *Keting*, is that he enter'd in hoſtile manner, Plunder'd, Ranſack'd, Preyd the whole Province of *Mounſter*, and brought away Captives and Pledges thence. And after this, though I cannot ſay how long after, the great Battel of *Beallach Muidh Mughna* was fought between him and holy *Cormock*, the good King of *Mounſter*, and Archbiſhop of *Caſhel*.

Caſſel. For this vertuous Prince, who was both King and Prieſt together, though much contrary to his own judgment and inclination, yet by the great importunity of his *Mounſter* Noble-men, but chiefly by the advice of *Flaithbhiortach mhac Jomhaincine*, Abbot of *Inche-Cathaigh*, march'd with an Army towards *Leinſter*, pretending that this Province ow'd him chiefry, as being lawful King of *Leath-Mogh*. But in his entring it, he was met and fought, and defeated, and kill'd, both himſelf and ſeven leſſer Kings with him; beſides other Nobles, by the ſaid Monarch, who had of the other ſide in his Army *Cearrbhall mhac Murregin*, King of *Leinſter*, and ten petty Kings more. Beſides, in this Monarch's Reign *Aidbeith mhac Laighnigh*, King of *Ulſter*, was murder'd by his own Aſſociates.

And tho in the Reign of *Niall Glaindubh*, who after the ſaid *Flann* was the next Monarch for three years only, there be nothing recorded of action among the *Iriſh* themſelves; but all againſt the *Danes*: and this Monarch *Niall* to have bravely in his own perſon fought 'em twice; though he was kill'd in the ſecond Fight, and together with him *Donchubhar mhac Maolſeachluinn* (called *Riogh Damhna*, or *Taniſt* to the Monarch of *Ireland*) *Aodh mhac Eoghagain* King of *Ulſter*, *Maolmhithe mhac Flannegain* King of *Breag*, and *Maolchraoibbe O Duibhſeansigh*

Duibhſeanaigh King of *Oirghiall*, beſides others of chief note and eſtimation: we ſhall find it otherwiſe in all and every one of the ſucceeding Reigns, at leaſt until this *Daniſh* War is wholly over.

Donnchadh mhac Floinn, immediat Succeſſor to *Niall*, for twenty years more in the Soveraignty, enter'd as an Enemy the Countries about *Athlone*, where many of his Army were kill'd, and among others, the petty King of *Ibh Failghe*. In his Reign *Fearrghraidh*, ſucceeding *Ceallaghan* for two years in the Kingdom of *Mounſter*, was treacherouſly murder'd by his own followers. And in the ſame Reign *Mathgamhain mhac Kinedy*, Succeſſor to *Fearghraidh*, and a brave, conſtant, ſucceſsful Warrier againſt the *Danes*, was betrayed in his own Houſe by one *Donomhan*; thence conveyd to *Mac Brain* King of *Eoghanach*, a Confederate of the *Danes*; ſhut up in Priſon by him, and there ſoon after murder'd by his People.

Conghallach mhac Mhaolmhithe, the next Monarch, notwithſtanding his bravery againſt the *Danes*, invaded *Mounſter* with a main Army againſt his own Countrey-men; upon what quarrel I know not. Though I find ſpecial notice taken of his killing in that expedition the two Sons of *Kinede mhac Lorcaine*. In his Reign alſo *Domhnal Claen* King of *Leinſter*, and

and *Domhnal O Faolain* King of the *Defies* in *Mounſter*, joynd with the *Danes*. From which conjunction follow'd not only many bloody Battels between them and *Brien mhac Kinede* (after ſurnam'd *Boraimh*) younger Brother and Succeſſor in the Kingdom of *Mounſter* to the foreſaid *Mathgambain*; but the deſtroying of this Monarch *Conghallach* himſelf in the Town of *Ardmagh*; where he was by an Army compoſed partly of *Danes*, and partly of *Leinſter*-men, ſet upon, fought, defeated, kill'd; ending ſo his ten years troubleſome vexatious Reign.

Domhnal mhac Mairebiortae, ſucceeding him for ten years more in this fatal Soveraignty, could be at leiſure to make War on *Fearrghallach O Ruairck* King of *Connaght*, prey all that Province, and bring away thence a great number of Captives. And ſo could one *Conghallach* ſome time after this, but in the ſame Monarch's Reign, make it either his intereſt or his revenge to murder that very ſame *Connaght* King. Beſides it was againſt this Monarch *Domhnal mhac Muirchiortac*, that another *Domhnal*, the Son of *Conghallach*, had the perfidious, hard, unnatural heart to joyn with the *Danes* of *Dublin*, and fight him in the great Battel, which the *Iriſh* call in their Language *Cath Chille Monae*: wherein *Ardghall mhac Madagain*, King of *Oirghillae*, and many

many other illuſtrious perſons of the Monarch's ſide were loſt; although himſelf after this, and many other Battels fought in his Reign, had the good luck to die a natural death at *Ardmagh*.

Maolſeachluinn the **II.** who appears next, for 20 years, as Monarch on the ſtage of *Ireland*, notwithſtanding that he had known very well how one *Gluneran* had lately aſſum'd the Title of King of the *Danes* in *Ireland*: that he had fought them victoriouſly in the Battle of *Taragh*: that he had from thence directly march'd to *Dublin*, forc'd it, enter'd it, enrich'd himſelf with all the ſpoils of that City: and that he could not but ſee work enough remaining ſtill among ſo many ſeveral ſorts of Enemies, *Danes*, *Normans*, *Eaſterlings*, and their *Iriſh* Confederates: yet he found leaſure and pick'd ſome quarrel to march his Army to *Mounſter* againſt *Dal-Gheaſs* and prey and ſpoil them too; albeit they were the braveſt Warriours there againſt the common Enemy. In his Reign the three ſons of *Gearbheoill mhac Lorcain* ſacrilegiouſly ſpoil'd the Sanctuary of *Glean-da-Logh*. For which impiety they were all three kill'd the very next following night. And in his Reign *Muirchiortach va Conghalla*, heading, or at leaſt aſſiſting the *Danes* of *Dublin*, plunder'd the Sanctuary of *Domhnach-Padruig* though to all their coſt, for

they all every one died within a month after this wickedneſs committed by them.

Now *Brien mhac Kinede*, ſurnam'd *Boraimh*, ſucceeding his murder'd Brother in the Kingdom of *Mounſter* (which happen'd in the fourth year of the Monarch *Conghallach mhic Mhaolmhithe*) after he had in the ſecond year of his reign over that Province only, and in revenge of his foreſaid Brother's moſt barbarous death, challeng'd *Maolmodh mhac Brain* King of *Eonachta* to a ſet Battel: fought it accordingly at *Bealach Leachta*: kill'd the greater part of *Mac Brains* Army, and taken all the reſt priſoners; an Army conſiſting of a numerous Body of *Iriſh*, and 1500 *Danes* that join'd them: and when this Battel was over, upon intelligence brought him that, during his diverſion by it, *Domhnal O Faolan* King of the *Deſies* over-ran the greateſt part of *Mounſter*, preying and ſpoiling all before him: after *Brien* hereupon had immediately march'd towards him, overtaken him, fought him at a place called *Fane mbich Conrach*, routed him, purſued him, kill'd him in his flight, and together with him the moſt part of the *Danes* of *Waterford* that join'd with him; then forc'd that Town, plunder'd it, burn'd it, and enrich'd his Army the brave *Dal-Gheaß* with the ſpoils of it, and preys of all the parts about it: after that within the

8th

8th year of his reign over *Mounſter*, he had brought the whole Diviſion of *Leathmogh* to acknowledg his Sovereignty with perfect obedience: and that nevertheleſs upon the death of *Domhnal Claon* King of *Leinſter*, which ſoon follow'd, that Province withdrawing their obedience, and joyning anew with the *Danes*, he had with the whole power of *Mounſter* enter'd it, and given both the *Leinſter*-men and their *Daniſh* Confederats, join'd together, the memorable overthrow at *Gleannmhama*, killing 4000 of them in that place: I ſay that after all theſe, and many other bloudy Fights againſt the *Danes* only, fought by him during his Reign over the Provinces of *Mounſter* and *Leath-Mogh*, under the ſucceſſive Reigns of three Monarchs or Kings of *Ireland*, *Conghallach mhac Mhaolmhithe*, *Domhnal mhac Mairchiortae*, and *Maolſeachluinn* the *Second*: yet when he was choſen by the far greater part of *Ireland*, in the 23d year of this *Maolſeachluinn*, to be Monarch, he was nevertheleſs neceſſitated to make that choice good, and eſtabliſh himſelf by fighting on ſtill againſt ſome other *Iriſh* Lords that oppoſed him, till he had ſubdued all at laſt by main force and dint of Sword. For to this end it was, That with the flower of his Army he march'd to *Cineall Laigthagh*, prey'd it, ſpoil'd it, and brought thence 300 Hoſtages. That

in like manner he enter'd the Countrey call'd *Magh Coruinn* seiz'd there *Maolruanuidh* King of *Cinæal Gonuill*, and brought him prisoner along with himself to *Ceann Chorah* in *Tuath Mhumhan*. In fine, That *Leinster* was wholly over-run and burn'd by him, even to the Valley of *Gleann-da-Logh*, and from thence again cross to *Cill-Mhuighnionn* (we call it now *Killmainam*) within a small English mile of the walls of *Dublin*, Westward. And yet that also may be true which *Keting* here observes, *viz.* that *Brien* was mightily moved to this destruction of *Leinster*, because they were *Leinster-men* that join'd with the *Danes* in ransacking, spoiling and leading away a great number of Captives from the Sanctuary of *Termon Feichin* in *Meath*. I say nothing more of any part of those 21 Battels in all, fought (as you have elsewhere seen) by this *Brian Boraimh*, a great part of them while he was only King of *Mounster*, and the rest after he was Monarch: only that in 'em all, taking one with another, especially counting among 'em, as I should, the greatest & last Battel of them, which was that of *Clantarff*, I doubt not, there was much more *Irish* bloud spilt by the *Irish* themselves on both sides, than there was of *Danish* or by the *Danes* on either.

Besides I observe it, as worthy of special remark here, That immediately after this Battel of *Clantarff* had been over, and the Victorious

Victorious Army of *Brian Boraimh* had buried their dead (especially this Monarch himself and *Murchoe* the Prince his eldest Son, with the rest of greatest quality of their side that were lost in the Battel) and interr'd 'em all at *Cill-mhuinionn:* after those funeral rites perform'd by the whole Army before they separated: after the *Conacians* had then parted, and return'd the shortest way home to their own Countrey of *Connaght*, and the *Momonians* likewise in one body taking another as the neareſt way to *Mounſter:* theſe being in all but 4000 men, and marching through an Enemies Country, were no ſooner come to *Mullach Maſtion*, about ſome 20 miles from *Dublin* in their way to *Mounſter*, than thoſe of them who were of *Weſt-Mounſter*, and they were three parts of the whole (*i. e.* 3000 men) withdrew themſelves mutinouſly apart from the reſt who were only a thouſand *North Mounſter* men, but *Dal-Gheaſs*, the ſurvivors of thoſe other brave *Dal Gheaſs* their Companions that with the loſs of their own lives made all their Army Victorious. That the *Weſtmounſter* men being ſo withdrawn a little diſtance of ground, immediatey ſent defiance to *Donochadh*, the Leader till then of both parties, as being one of the ſons of *Brien Boraimh*, and heading ſtill and remaining with the *Dal-Gheaſs*; but a conditional defiance it was, requiring *Donochadh* to ſend them Hoſtages for his

acknowledging one of their own *West-Mounſter* Tribe as rightful King of all *Mounſter*, by vertue of the ancient diſpoſition made (ſome 800 years before) by *Oilliol Olum* the firſt Provincial King of both *Mounſters* to his ſecond Son *Cormock Caiſſe*, and his Grandchild or his eldeſt Son *Eoghun Mor's* child (by name *Fiochae Muilleathan.*) That *Donogh* relying on his valiant *Dal-Gheaß* though but ſo few, and a great many of them very grievouſly wounded, gave the Meſſenger nothing to hope, but return'd him with an anſwer of diſdain and ſcorn; bidding him tell thoſe who had ſent him, that his Father came to the Sovereignty of that Kingdom, not by vertue of any ſuch or other ancient diſpoſition, but by his Sword: and that he would endeavour to keep in the ſame manner what his deſcent from ſuch a Father had entitled him to. That purſuant to this anſwer, preparing to fight, when he had put into the *Daniſh Rath* which remains to this day on that Height of *Maiſtion* all his wounded men, and appointed a third part of the reſt to defend them: not only thoſe very wounded men, underſtanding the cauſe, and thereupon ſeeing their wounds to open and bleed afreſh, fill'd them with green Moſs, call'd for their Arms, took 'em, march'd forth, and embodied with their Companions, reſolv'd to live or die with them in fighting; but

but the Mutineers, obſerving (for they ſaw all) their deſperate reſolutions, thought better of it; and whether out of compaſſion, or cowardize, or ſome other motive, I know not, march'd off preſently their own way home to *Weſt Mounſter*; leaving *Donochadh* with his few *Dal-Gheaſs* to fight theirs out in paſſing on towards *Tomond*, through a greater Army of profeſs'd enemies that expected to receive them near *Athy*; where they were to paſs the River *Barrow*, ſome four or five miles from *Maiſtion*. That *Donochadh mhac Brien Boraimh* was no ſooner come ſo far and encamped cloſe by that River, then *Donochadh mhac Gilla-Phadruig* King of *Oſſory*, that with an Army rais'd out of all parts of *Leinſter* ten times the number of *Dal-Gheaſs*, lay not far off on the other ſide of the ſame River, at a place called *Magh Cloinne Kealnigh*, ſent him a Herald requiring him forthwith to deliver conſiderable Hoſtages, or fight his way: though *Mac Gilla-Phadruig*'s quarrel was no other, nor otherwiſe grounded than upon his Fathers impriſonment for twelve months by *Brian Boraimh* ſome time paſt. That a much more ſcornful anſwer than the former being made to his Meſſenger, and *Donochadh mhac Brien Boraimh*, in the ſame manner he had ſo lately at *Maſtion*, preparing now the ſecond time to fight: his wounded men would not be excuſed, but fil-

ling again their wounds with green Moſs, and taking to their Arms, they prevail'd with the Prince to have great Piles or Poſts of wood faſtned deep in the ground where they were to ſtand, with two of their unwounded friends, one on each ſide of each of them: and then themſelves tied to thoſe Piles at their backs to keep them from falling while their hands were at work againſt their Aſſailants. That the ſight (for now the Enemy was ſo near that they had a full ſight) of this unuſual preparation of men ſo ſtrangely devoting themſelves to death, did ſo abate the courage of *Mac Gille-Phadruig*'s Army, that notwithſtanding all his eagerneſs, and all his anger, and even his upbraiding them with the greatneſs of their number of one ſide, and the paucity of *Dal Gheaß* on the other, *which*, ſays he, *is ſuch that if they were meat, you are enough to devour 'em up in one meal*, yet he could not prevail with them to make the Onſet, or do other than ſtand ſtill. That *Donogh O Brian* ſeeing now at laſt there was no further hope of Battel, broke up his little Camp, and march'd on the beſt he could, very ſlowly indeed (for how could it be otherwiſe?) being forc'd to skirmiſh almoſt continually in the Rear, and ſometimes in the Front and ſides too, for ſeveral days, and forty or fifty long miles, until at length, having loſt in all a hundred and

fifty

fifty of his wearied men, he got clear of this hard hearted Foe and his cowardly Forces that purſued him ſo far and in ſuch manner attacking him.

28. *Maolſeachluin* the II. that was formerly depos'd to give place to *Brian Boraimh*, is now again immediately after the Battel of *Clantarff*, the ſecond time Monarch of *Ireland*. In this ſecond Reign of his, after he had, as you have ſeen before, kill'd in *Dublin* the whole remainder of the *Danes* fled thither from the Battel of *Clantarff*, then without delay he march'd with all his Forces againſt his own Countreymen. And firſt againſt thoſe of *Cionſallach* (we call it now the *County of Wexford*,) where he turn'd all into aſhes, and ſlaughter'd a great many of the Inhabitants. Next in like Hoſtile manner againſt thoſe of *Ulſter*; whence he return'd with a great number of Hoſtages. About this time it was that *Donochadh mhac Gille Phadruig*, in the head of his own Troops, in the ſtreets of *Leith-Ghlinn* (alias *Laghlin*) kill'd *Donochan* King of *Leinſter* and *Teadhg O Ryan* King of *Idrona*, with many more of their followers. Nor was it long after, that *Maolſeachluin* himſelf, the Monarch enter'd *Oſſory*, kill'd *Dunchall mhac Donochadh*, then (after his Fathers death) King of that Countrey, ſlaughter'd a great number of his adherents,

herents, and for the future fidelity of the reſt led away as many Hoſtages as he pleaſed. Laſtly in this ſecond Reign of *Maolſeachluinn* it was that *Dunn Sleibhe mhac Mhaoilmhorda mhac Muirreigheine* burn'd the King of *Leinſter Ughaire mhac Tuathail mhac Duinlingine*, *mhac Ughaire*, *mhac Oiliola mhac Duinling*, in his dwelling houſe at *Dubh-Loch Eaſa-Chaille*, even that brave *Ughaire*, that fought the very laſt Battel in *Ireland* againſt the *Danes*, and defeated them ſo mightily that they never after could any where make head againſt the *Iriſh*.

And now both the ſecond War of the the *Danes*, and ſecond reign of *Maolſeachluinn* the II. ending here; I alſo end the former part of my Inſtances. In which, if I be not much deceiv'd, you may obſerve a wilful, obſtinate, furious Nation, maugre all their Chriſtianity, maugre the hand of God himſelf ſo heavy on 'em, proceeding ſtill from worſe to worſe. For in the former *Daniſh* War, notwithſtanding they had moſt enormouſly tranſgreſſed at ſeveral times, by turning the edg of their Swords againſt one another; yet all that while none of them arriv'd to the impiety of leaguing or joyning with the common barbarous Heathen Foe againſt any Soul whatſoever, or upon any terms at all. But in the later we have ſeen a very great part of 'em do ſo, and do it even

all

all along from the very beginning to the end. At leaſt I am ſure they did ſo full 55 years compleat from time to time, before the Battel of *Clantarff* had broke all the hearts, and hopes, and Leagues together of thoſe that did it. Though after all, the goodneſs of God put off a little further ſtill that heavieſt of his judgments on the Nation in general, which they (whether by relapſing again the third time into their accurſed Feuds, or whether by continuing in 'em at all times, and particularly at this of their laſt delivery from all forein Enemies) brought on themſelves not only at laſt, but ere very long. And yet I muſt confeſs it was no ſooner than 127 years more were over. For ſo long ſtill, even after the ſecond *Daniſh* War of a hundred and fifty years continuance had been wholly ended by the deſtruction of all their *Northern* and *Eaſtern* Invaders whatſoever, did the wonderful mercy of God to them expect their amendment: certainly a longer period of time than he expected the repentance of the old World, when he had warn'd them to it by the building of the *Ark*. At preſent he was content only to add to the former loſſes of this Nation that which really was the laſt diſpoſition to that heavieſt doom expecting them: as it was indeed the very laſt ſymptom of their dying Commonwealth. He

removed

removed their Candleſtick; that is, he ſubverted their ancient Monarchical Government. The power and majeſty of which, as it had been for ſo many long Ages their only ſtem prop: ſo it was the only National glory they had left after the deſtruction made (by 200 years continual War with Foreiners) of all whatſoever elſe had been great or illuſtrious in their Nation. But this is now departed like all the reſt.

For, after this *Maolſeachluinn* the II. had by death ended his ſecond Reign of nine years continuance, there was never more in *Ireland* any Monarch truly ſuch; never any at all (I mean) univerſally either obey'd, or acknowledg'd, or accounted ſuch by the *Iriſh* in general, at leaſt till *Henry* the II. nay, I might ſay, till *James* I. of glorious memory reign'd over 'em. Yet becauſe, I muſt confeſs, there have been ſix more in Title and pretenſion ſuch, that ſucceeded this *Maolſeachluinn*, in their ſeveral periods of time, for a hundred and twenty ſeven years in all: and becauſe the later part of my Inſtances are delivered in their Reigns, I give them alſo now in order.

29. *Donochadh mhac Brien Boraimh* ſucceeded next to *Malſeachluinn* II. for two and fifty years, ſays *Keting*, and was acknowledg'd by *Leath Mogh* and the greater part of *Ireland*.

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In his reign *Art Cuilioch O Ruairck* King of *Breithfne*, violated, ſpoil'd, plunder'd the Sanctuary of *Cluain Fearta Breanninn*; but on the ſame day, after he had committed this horrible ſacrilegious villany, was met, and fought, and defeated by the Monarch. In his reign (beſides the ſacking of *Waterford* by *Diarmuid Mhaoil-na-mbho* King of *Leinſter*; which I paſs over, becauſe they were, at leaſt moſt of them were *Danes* that lived there at that time) the other famed Sanctuary of *Cluan mbic-Noiſe* was in the like impious manner ſpoil'd by thoſe *Iriſh* called the *Combacnuibh*; though ere long ſeverely puniſh'd (ſays *Keting*) by a general mortality ſweeping both themſelves and their Cattel away. In his reign *Carthach mbac Saoirbhreathaigh*, King of *Eoghanachta Caſhell*, and a great many other Gentlemen of Note were burn'd together in a Thatch-houſe by *Mac Longhargain mhac Dunn Chuan*. And after all, this Monarch himſelf, *Dononachadh mhac Brian Boraimh*, was not only depriv'd of his Kingdom, but glad to ſave his life by flying away, and going a poor Pilgrim to *Rome*, where he died in St. *Stephen*'s Abbey.

Which in ſhort being the whole account, we find in *Keting*, of what happen'd, to our purpoſe here, in the long reign of this *Dononachadh*: what follows now is out of the Author of *Cambrenſis Euerſus*. For *Gratianus Lucius*, p. 81.

this

this accurate Writer, tho he delivers many excellent things of this *Donogh*, yet he tells us, That he was an Uſurper on the rights of his elder Brother *Teadhg* (the undoubted Heir of the Crown, ſay the Annals of *Innis-Faile*:) and put him into the hands of thoſe *Ely-O-Carrol*-Men who treacherouſly murder'd him. That in the year 1027. which was the next after *Maolſeachluinn*'s death, he prey'd all *Meath*, *Fingall*, *Leinſter*, *Offory*: and camp'd for two days near the Walls of *Dublin*, without any oppoſition. That *An.* 1036. with only one Veſſel he fought, ſunk and took 14 *Breithſne* Ships; and ſufficiently reveng'd on 'em their plundering of *Cluan Feart*. That in the year 1050, the *Offorians* and *Lagenians* rebelling, he broke again their Stubbornneſs: and in the year 1060. having entered *Connaght* with a good Army, he compell'd *Ruadhruigh* the King of that Proviuce to give him Hoſtages. So much indeed *Gratianus Lucius* tells us conſequently (in the firſt place) of this *Donochadh mhic Brien Boraimhe*. But then going on he relates (in the next) of *Diarmuid mhic Donochadh*, ſurnam'd *Maol-na-Moa*, King of *Leinſter*, Nephew to this very *Donochadh O Brian* the *Mounſter* King, by *Dearbhrogil* his Daughter, That, he taking into his care and eſpouſing againſt this Uſurping Uncle the quarrel of young *Toirrghialach*,

Iach, who was the Son and Heir of the murdered *Teidhg*, and consequently his own Cousin German, to the end this injured youth might be restored to his right, made sharp War on the said Uncle, *Keting*'s pretended Monarch of *Ireland*. That, to the end, he begun with *Waterford* in the year 1037. took, sack'd, and burnt it. In this year 1048. he set upon *Glanusson*, turn'd it to ashes, kill'd a hundred of its defenders, and brought away 400 more Captives. In the same year he wasted all the *Desies*, and return'd with an infinite number of their Cattel and very many Prisoners. In the year 1058. he burnt *Limmerick*, plunder'd *Inis-Ceath*, fought *Donochadh* at the Mountain *Crotb*, and routed his whole Army. In the year 1061. he made a miserable slaughter of the *Momonians* at *Cuamchoill*, wasted their Countrey, and put all both Houses, Stacks, and standing Corn into a light flame of fire. *Anno* 1063. he burnt *Limmerick* the second time, forc'd the *Momonians* to give him Hostages out of all parts of their Countrey; nay soon after upon a new rebellion or insurrection of theirs plagued them again and compell'd 'em to new submissions and Hostages; which Hostages he delivered all every one to the foresaid *Toirrghiallach*. The next year, which was 1064. he beat *Donochadh* out of all his Kingdom, made him fly beyond Seas,

Seas, plac'd *Tourrghiallach* in his Throne, at leaſt of *Mounſter*: and in the following 1065. upon intelligence of *Donochadh*'s ſon *Murchadh* s ſetting up for himſelf, he march'd the laſt time into *Mounſter*, ſuppreſſed that Inſurrection, chas'd *Murchadh* into *Connaght*, receiv'd the third time Hoſtages from all *Mounſter*, and, as he had done before, put them into the hands of *Tourrghiallach* now King after his Uncle. Moreover this Author writes of the ſame *Diarmuid* King of *Leinſter*; that, beſides his pulling down and ſetting up ſo whom he pleaſed in that Province of *Mounſter*, he made *Connaght* alſo yield, having marcht into it with a ſmart Army, harraſs'd it, and reduced *Aodh O Conchabhar*, the King of it, to ſuch ſtreights, that in the year 1061. he was e'en forc'd at laſt to buy his peace by coming to his Houſe in *Leinſter* and ſubmitting to his pleaſure. That before this, in the year 1048. at three ſeveral times he waſted *Meath* ſo cruelly, ſo without any diſcrimination or diſtinction made 'twixt ſacred and profane, that he deſtroy'd with fire even moſt of the very Churches there: and in the year 1053. entring it the fourth time, he led away both a very great number of Captives, and innumerable preys. That for the *Danes* or *Eſterlings* of *Dublin*, who (it ſeems) ſtood upon terms of Conteſt with him, he in the year

1052.

1052. plagued them ſo mightily by burning not only *Fingall*, but all other Territories round about them on every ſide, and then fighting and worſting and ſlaughtering a great number of them hard by their own Walls, that they were glad at laſt to proclaim him their King alſo, and wholly ſubmit to his will. That notwithſtanding all his former Victories, he was in the year of Chriſt 1072, on the 17th of *February*, being *Tueſday*, fought, defeated, kill'd in the Battel of *Odhbhen* by *Conchabhar O Maolſeachluinn* King of *Meath*. And laſtly this Author tells us, That among all the *Iriſh* Antiquaries only *Keting* places *Donochadh O Brien*, only Sir *James Ware*, *Diarmuid mhac Mhaoil-na-Moa* in the Catalogue of *Iriſh* Monarchs. So that all the reſt of the *Iriſh* Writers, it ſeems, account neither of them, and conſequently none at all in their days to have been King of *Ireland*, but hold a meer *Interregnum* then of the Monarchy. But be it ſo, or no, it matters not to my purpoſe; being the Inſtances brought all along in that very long Reign of *Donochadh*, at leaſt over *Mounſter*, are true; whether *Donochadh* or *Diarmuid*, or any other *Iriſh* Prince in their time was more than a Provincial King, or leſs than a Monarch of the whole Iſland.

Toirrghiallach mhac Teidhg, mhic Brien Boraimh (that is in our Language, *Terence*, the Son

of *Teig*, the Son of *Brien Boraimh*) is now Succeſſor to *Donachadh*, as in the Kingdom of *Mounſter* and *Leath mogh*, ſo in the Title of Monarch, ſays *Keting*. Nor do I find that any other oppoſed this Title of his. But one reaſon hereof might be his ruling peaceably, troubling no man, nor forcing any thing from either Province or man. And therefore they took no exception againſt the Title whether aſſum'd by himſelf or given him by others during his ſhort Reign, which was but of twelve years only, as moſt Antiquaries ſay; though ſome extend it to 22 years: the occaſion of their difference being, that the former count the beginning of his Reign from the death of *Diarmuid Mhaoil-na-mo* in the Battel of *Odhbhen*; the later take it from the death of *Donochadh O Brien* at *Rome*, or at leaſt from his depoſition and flight. However, this is unanimouſly confeſs'd, that as he lived quietly for his own part during his Reign, ſo he died naturally in the 77 year of his Age, being the year of Chriſt 1086. But ſo did not under his Reign *Conchabbor O Maolſeachluinn* King of *Meath*. For this but lately Victorious Prince was treacherouſly murthered by his own Nephew *Murcho' mhac Floinn:* and his head, after burial of it at *Cluain-mhac-Noiſe*, carried to the Monarch then reſiding at *Ceann-Chora*. Who deſired to ſee it, becauſe he

he bore this *Methian* King no good will, for having kill'd (though in Battel) his dear Couſin, his Patron, his ſupporter and Protector *Diarmuid mhac Donochadh*, ſurnamed *Maol-na-moa*, King of *Leinſter*, as we have ſeen before. But his curioſity coſt him dear. For the head being brought him on *good Friday*; as he was viewing it, a little Mouſe ſlipt out of it into his Boſom, which ſo affrighted him, eſpecially when he underſtood how next *Sunday* the ſame head was miraculouſly return'd back to *Cluain-mhac-Noiſe* with a gold Ring upon it, that he fell preſently into a languiſhing Diſeaſe, that held him after in cruel pain for ſeveral years, and never was perfectly over till he died. So writes the Author of *Cambrenſis Euerſus*. And now *Muirchiortach mhac Toirrghialbhaigh mhac Teaidhg*, the great Grandchild of *Brien Boraimh*, and Son to the foreſaid *Toirrgheallach*, ſucceeded his Father in the Sovereignty at leaſt of *Mounſter*, *Leath Mogh*, and greater part of *Ireland* for 20 years, ſays *Keting*. In which Reign, though he record nothing proper to our purpoſe in this place (and ſomewhat extraordinary that very ſame is) yet *Gratianus Lucius* has enough. This Author, *page* 82. and 84. gives a very particular account of the great combuſtions in it. He tells us how upon the death of *Toirrghiallach O Brien* the

laſt Monarch, not only this *Muirchiortach* his Son, but *Domhnall*, the Son of *Ardghar*, the Son of *Lochlen*, King of *Tir-Conel* contended to ſome purpoſe for the Sovereignty of *Ireland*. How the former by fight and ſpoil ſubdued the *Lagenians*, and the later in the ſame manner the *Methians*. How *Domhnal* had in the year 1088. got the ſtart of *Muirchiortach* by forcing the King and Kingdom of *Connaght* to give him Hoſtages for their future fidelity: and then immediatly enter'd *Mounſter*, burnt *Limmerick*, demoliſh'd *Ceann-Chora* the chief Royal Seat ever ſince *Brien Boraimh*'s time, waſted the whole Countrey thereabouts with Fire and Sword, and brought away thence beſides an infinite number of Horſes and all ſorts of Cattel, vaſt Treaſures of Gold, Silver and Plate. How, on the other ſide, *Muirchiortach*, beſides forcing *Dublin* three ſeveral times, baniſhing *Godred* the *Daniſh* King, being there himſelf proclaim'd King at each time, marcht into *Ulſter* with the Forces of *Mounſter*, *Connaght*, *Leinſter* and *Meath*: harraſs'd it moſt wofully: burnt the Royal Seat of *Domhnall* there: and was thus reveng'd not once but often on that Province; marching into it every time with main Forces, and ſcouring all the Coaſts of the whole Iſland with a very numerous well provided Navy. How *Domhnall* had withal

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ſo many rebellions of his own Subjects againſt himſelf in the very *North*, nay within *Tirconnel* it ſelf, that, having as often overcome them all, he put out the eyes of ſome of their petty Kings, and others to death. How after all the foreſaid *Muirchiortach* King of *Caſhel*, or (which is here the ſame thing) of *Mounſter*, and together with him *Flann O Maolſeachluinn* King of *Meath*, and *Ruidhruigh O Conchabhar* King of *Connaght* found themſelves neceſſitated not only to give *Domhnall* a meeting, but even to deliver him Hoſtages, in the year of Chriſt 1090. How in the year 1104. *Domhnal* turn'd to aſhes that Countrey in *Meath* called then *Ibh Laoghaire:* and in the year 1112, broke into *Fingall*, prey'd it, plunder'd it all over, and carried away thence, beſides their Cattel, a very great deal of coſtly Rayments; (*magnam boum pretioſiſſimarumque veſtium vim illinc retulit*, ſays my Author) How, after ſo many devaſtations of the poor Countrey and much blood ſpilt betwixt theſe two Contenders: and after frequent annual Ceſſations between 'em, procured by the *Primats* of *Ireland* even then when both their Armies ſtood ready in the Field to fall on: they came at laſt to the old Diviſion of *Leath Cuinn* and *Leath Mogh:* that is, *Domhnall* to govern abſolutely in all the North ſide of *Eiſker-Riada*, and *Muirchi-*

ortach in all the South of it; each ſtiling himſelf King of *Ireland*. How, this agreement made, *Muirchiortach* falling into a heavy Diſeaſe that continued five years, his own Brother *Diarmuid O Brien* ſeiz'd the Kingdom of *Mounſter*: and both he and other Provincial Kings divided among them all *Muirchiortach*'s wealth and poſſeſſions while he was yet alive, tho extreamly ſick: but he afterwards unexpectedly recovering, made ſo ſharp a War on them all, that they were forc'd to quit and reſtore whatſoever they had ſo unjuſtly got. In fine, how piouſly both *Muirchiortach* and *Diarmuid* ended their days, notwithſtanding their almoſt continual Wars during life and health: the former at *Liſmore* in the 20th year of his Reign, and of Chriſt 1119. but having firſt deveſted himſelf of all worldly power and care by turning Clerk in that holy place: and the later, being 73 years old, in the Monaſtery of *Columb-cille* at *Doire* (now by us called *London-derry*) 27 of his Reign, which was of Chriſt 1121. For ſo many years I find given him by *Colganus* in this *Elogy* of him: *Donaldus Loghleni ex Ardgaro filio nepos, Rex Hiberniæ, Hibernorumque excellentiſſimus formæ præſtantia, generis nobilitate, animi indole & in rebus agendis proſperitate poſtquam multa munera egenis clementer, & potentibus liberaliter elargitus fuerat, in Roboreto*

reto Divi Columbæ (hoc eſt in Dorenſi Monaſterio) deceſſit anno ætatis ſuæ 73. & principatus in Hibernia 27. Chriſti nati 1121.

Where I muſt occaſionally reflect on my own miſtake, in the foregoing 75 *page* of this little Book, and deſire the Reader to account it ſuch. Indeed there I ſuppos'd that that *Dearmach*, where *Beda* ſays, *Columbe-Cille* had built his famous *Iriſh* Monaſtery, was the ſame with *Ardmach*. But now I ſee by *Colgan*'s explication of *Roboretum D. Columbæ* that without queſtion that *Dear-mach* (in Latin *Roboretum* or *Campus Roborum*, for *Dair* or *Doir* ſignifies an Oak in the *Iriſh*, and *Mach* or *Magh* a Field) which *Beda* meant, was at the place ever ſince called by the Iriſh *Doire Columb-Cille*, as it is of late by the Engliſh *London-derry*, and by no means at *Ardmagh*. But to paſs over as well that errour of my own, as the brief account, immediately before this reflection on it, given of the pious end thoſe two great Contenders made: for peradventure you will ſay, and I confeſs it freely, that neither the one nor the other is to my main purpoſe here: and therefore to return, and proſecute only that which is my Province: I will now let you ſee all the glory of the Monarchical (or at leaſt pretended Monarchical) Power of *Ireland* (which never laſted long, not even from *Heber*'s days,

in any one Family or Sept) removing from *Mounſter* to *Cannaght*; and from the *O Brians* there to the *O Connors* here. Yet leaving ſtill, for my part, the Queſtion undetermined, whether the ſame Monarchy did not continue for two years longer in *Tirconel*, after it had ended in *Tomond*, and ſo paſs'd immediatly not from *Muirchiortach O Brian*, but from *Dombnall mhac Ardghar mhac Loghlin*. However, that was,

Toirrghiallach mor mhac Ruidhruigh vibh Chonchabhair (i. e. *Terence* the Great, Son of *Roderick* deſcended of *Connor*) King of *Connaght*, is now poſſeſs'd of the Sovereignty of *Leath-Cuinn* and greater part of *Ireland*, and thereby of the Title of Monarch for 20 years more, ſays *Keting*. For ſo at leaſt his his own Subjects and followers call'd him. I am ſure his Reign has furniſh'd Hiſtory with Inſtances enough on the Subject I treat of. At three ſeveral times he enter'd the Province of *Mounſter* with a great and Hoſtile power of men: though the firſt time having prey'd and ſpoil'd not only *Ard-feanan* but *Caſhel*, he was ſet upon in the Rear by part of the *Mounſter* Army, and loſt *Aodh O Heidin* King of *Biorradh*, and *Muirriadhach O Flacthiorta* King of Lower *Connaght*, with a great number of other prime Gentlemen. The ſecond time he invaded it both by Land and Sea: himſelf marching by Land in the head

head of a ſtrong Army, and laying all waſte about him till he came to *Cork*; where a goodly Fleet (ſays *Keting*) well provided of Seamen and Souldiers, which he had ſent about to deſtroy all the Coaſts, having done their work, met him. And now this imperious Monarch *Toirrghiallach mor O Conchabhair*, glutted with revenge, divides *Mounſter* in two equal parts, the *Southern* and *Northern Mounſter*, ſo called. Whereof he commits the *Southern* to *Donochadh mhac Cartha*'s government; the *Northern* to *Conchabhar O Brien:* and ſo returns home triumphantly to *Connaght*, with 30 Hoſtages of the beſt in *Mounſter*. But ſoon after, *Cormock mhac Cartha*, King of *Weſt-mounſter*, being treacherouſly kill'd by *Toirrghiallach O Brien*, his own Son-in-law and Goſſip: and the whole Province of *Mounſter*, that is all the parts and power and Title too of it, ſeiz'd by him as the lawful King of it: *Toirrghiallach mor O Conchabhar* the pretended Monarch draws together all the Forces of *Connaght*, *Breithfne*, *Meath* and *Leinſter*; puts himſelf in the head of them: and marches now again the third time into *Mounſter*. Where, being advanced in ſo far as *Gleann Mhachair*, and to a place there called *Moinmhoir* (in *Engliſh* the Great Moor) *Toirrghiallach O Brien*, the new *Mounſter* King, in the head of 9000 men, the flower of all that Pro-

Province, meets him, and fights him; but is ſo intirely and mightily defeated, that *Dal-Gheaſſ*, the chief ſtrength of his Army, never before nor after had the like overthrow, as being for the matter all deſtroyed therein. And the iſſue was, the baniſhment of this new unfortunate King to *Tir-Eogbain* in *Ulſter*; and the diviſion of *Mounſter* the ſecond time, between *Diarmuid mhac Cormuick mbic Cartha* and *Teadeg O Brien*, by the Monarch.

Such is the account of this Monarch, and no more, I mean, of his Warlike Actions and Exploits, delivered by *Keting*, in his Reign. But *Gratianus Lucius*, in his *Cambrenſis Euerſus* ſays further of him, that he prey'd all the Provinces of *Ireland*, every one. That he made his own Son *Conchabbar* actually and really King of the *Dublinians*, *Lagenians* and *Methians*. That with his Land Army he deſtroy'd *Tirconel*, and with his Navy conſiſting of 190 Ships waſted *Tir-Oen*, and with both reduced both theſe warlike Countreys of the *North*. That nevertheleſs, before the end of his Reign, his Glory was obſcur'd and power humbled by him who came next to ſucceed in the Monarchy, and who begun early (it ſeems) to lay the foundation of his own future greatneſs by making War on this very *Toirrghiallach mor O Conchabbar* himſelf, the Monarch,

Monarch, and forcing Hoſtages from him in the year of Chriſt 1150. that is full ſix years before this Monarch's death. And that, however, he continued in the whole his Reign over *Connaght* 50 years, and according to all the *Iriſh* Annals and Hiſtorians, over *Ireland* 20. Though (ſays *Gratianus*) according to a more exact ſevere diſcuſſion of the truth, if the date of his Monarchy be taken from the death of his Predeceſſor *Mairchiortach O Brien* to his own, he muſt have reigned over *Ireland* 34 years in all: or at leaſt 28, if it be continued only till the foreſaid Hoſtages were forc'd from him. But I range again. For as well this calculation of his years or Reign, as his religious preparation for death, and his burial, and reſt, cloſe by the high Altar of St. *Cieran* in the Cathedral Church of *Cluan-mhac-Noiſe* is forein to my purpoſe here. And therefore I return again.

Muirchiortach, commonly call'd *Mac Loghlenn*, (but immediate Son to *Niall*, and by him Nephew to that *Domhnal* whom we have ſo lately ſeen to have ſo long contended for the Sovereignty of *Ireland*, and therefore ſtiled by *Colganus* King of *Ireland*) upon the death of *Toirghiallach mor O Conchabhar* aſſumes that Title of the *Iriſh* Monarchy, which he had ſo venturouſly and early prepar'd for while *Toirrghiallach* was yet alive, and in health. Of him, at leaſt of any warlike action either of his,

his, or indeed of any others in his Reign, tho *Keting* has not a word, ſave only thoſe very few that on an other occaſion I have given before, *page* 73. viz. that *Mairchiortach mhac Neill* the Monarch (that ſucceeded *Toirghial-lach mor O Conchabhar*) *was in the* 18th *year of his Reign, kill'd by Fearnibh, Fearrmhaighe and O Brian:* yet the diligence and accurateneſs of *Gratianus Lucius* makes abundant compenſation. For this Author *p.*86. ſays of the preſent *Muir-chiartach*, firſt in general, That his humour having been wholly Martial, and his fortune anſwerable, he over-run all the Provinces of *Ireland* in a continual courſe of Victories, obtained partly by Battels, and partly by the ſole terrour of his Name. That he ſubdued them all, and forced them every one to give him Hoſtages. That therefore at leaſt He, without any contradiction, may be admitted next after *Maolſeachluinn* II. for the undoubted King of all *Ireland*. And then, after letting us know that this Prince's great Vertues were much eclipſed by the Precipitancy of his anger: and that whom proſperity had rais'd to ſuch a heighth, adverſity at laſt did throw down as low even to the very earth: he particularly recounts how *Eochadh* King of *Ulſter*, not only refus'd to pay any more Tribute or other dues to him, but even without any other provocation made War upon him.

That

That he being thereupon enraged enters the Territories of *Eochadh*, routs his Forces, burns his Lands, takes his Vaſſals, and puts them in Fetters; *Eochadh* himſelf by good luck eſcaping. That after this, yea notwithſtanding a reconciliation made between them by the interceſſion, and upon the Engagement of the Primat of *Ardmagh* and *Donochadh* King of *Oirghllae* for performance of Covenants on both ſides, and *Eochadh*'s conſequential pardon and reception to grace; which to aſſure him *Muirchiortach* took the moſt ſolemn Oath he could (for ſuch it was accounted then in that Kingdom) on the *Staff of Jeſus* (what this was, S. *Bernard* tells in the Life of *Malachias*:) yet ere long, whether out of the former cauſe, or any other new one enraging him, he had *Eochadh*'s eyes pull'd out of his head: and three of his Nobles (*duos Olingſios, & Cathaſachi O Flahry nepotem*) moſt cruelly put to death; without any regard to the engagement of the Sureties. And, to conclude, that *Donochadh O Cearrbhaoil* the foreſaid King of *Oirghillae*, one of the Sureties, taking to heart ſo heinous a breach of Faith, Oath, Covenants, and aſſurance given by himſelf; and therefore reſolving to be reveng'd, draws to his aſſociation the People of *Vibhruinne* and *Combaicne*; marches with an Army of 9000 men into *Cineal-Eoghain* (otherwiſe

therwiſe call'd by them *Tir-Eoghain*, but by us *Tir-oen*) where the Monarch then reſided; ſurprizes him unprovided; fights the few tumultuary Forces led forth by him, routs them, and kills him in that Field, a man ever before Victorious in all his Encounters whatſoever. Yet ſuch was his end in the 10th of his reign, *Anno Chriſti* 1166, ſays *Gratianus Lucius*; though *Keting* ſays he was kill'd in the eighteenth of his Reign, by *Fearrnibh Fearrmhaighe* and *O Brien*, as I have noted before. But as their difference in computing the years of the Reign is not material; the one beginning it when this *Muirchiortach mhac Neill* had forc'd his predeceſſor *Toirrghiallach mor O Conchabhar* to give him Hoſtages, and the other when *Toirrghiallach* died: ſo neither is it material to know whether any ſuch perſons call'd *Fearrnibh Fearrmhaighe* and *O Brien* were, or were not in that Battel to kill him. What is to our preſent purpoſe, you have it very particularly delivered by the one, and not gainſaid by the other.

And yet upon reflection I muſt confeſs I find that I have not delivered all the material things written by *Gratianus Lucius* in this Reign of *Muirchiortach mhac Neill*. He further writes (*page* 87.) that in the Year 1156. even the very firſt year of it, preſently after *Toirrghiallach mor O Conchabhar*'s death, his

his Son and Heir and King of *Connaght Ruidhruigh O Conchabhar* did receive twelve Hoſtages from *Muirchiortach O Brien*; even that very *Mounſter* King ſo lately before deprived and baniſh'd to *Tir-Eoghain* by the ſaid *Toirrghiallach* (Father to this *Ruidhruigh*) as we have ſeen already. That in the Year 1157. he ruſh'd into *Muirchiortach mhac Neill* the Monarch's own peculiar Countrey *Tir-Eoghain*, burnt the fruitful *Peninſula* there, call'd *Inis-Eoghain*, deſtroy'd all the delicate Gardens, Orchards, Plantations; waſted the whole Region to *Cianachty*. That after this he turn'd his Arms on *Mounſter*; Where having firſt ſetled the foreſaid *Muirchiortach O Brien* in poſſeſſion of North-*Mounſter*, he forc'd Hoſtages from *Diarmuid mhac Cormuic mhic Cartha* King of South-*Mounſter*, to remain with him till *Muirchiortach mhac Neill* the Monarch did relieve the ſaid *Diarmuid*. That *Anno* 1158. he enter'd *Leinſter* in like hoſtile manner with great Force: marcht through it to *Leiglin*: being encamp'd there had Hoſtages brought him from *Oſſory* and *Luighis*: and, in the cloſe of all, loaded *Mac Craih O Morrdha* the little King of *Luighis* with Irons. That in the next place he made Inroads into *Teabhan*, driving away thence from the *Kerins* an exceeding great prey of Cows: and with his Fleet afflicted all the Coaſts of *Tir-Eoghain* mightily.

That

That in the Year 1161. falling violently on *Meath*, he both compelled the Countreys call'd *Vibh Falain* and *Vibh Faoilghe* to give him pledges, and then plac'd Governours in them, *viz. Faolan O Faoelain* in the one, and *Mlaghlin O Conchabhair* in the other. That after all, he made his Conditions of peace with the Monarch, deliver'd him four Hoſtages; receiv'd from him in gift the entire Province of *Connaght*, with the one half of *Meath*, and from *Diarmuid O Maolſeachluinn* a hundred ounces of Gold for that half. So that by this time, I think the Reader has no reaſon to complain of want of Inſtances to purpoſe out of this Reign of *Muirchiortach mhac Neill*: Who, as we have ſeen, was the ſaddeſt of them all himſelf, as having by his own Vaſſals been ſet upon unprovided, fought, overcome, and kill'd.

In the laſt place *Ruaruidh O Conchabhar* King of *Connaght*, e'n that very ſame *Ruaruidh*, who contended for ſo many years before with *Muirchiortach mhac Neill*, and ſubmitted to him at laſt, appears now his Succeſſor on this long tottering Theatre of *Iriſh* Monarchs. *Keting* delivers a very imperfect account of him, ſaying, That beſides *Connaght* he had only the Kings of *Breithfne* and *Oirghillac* to acknowledg his Sovereignty; and giving ſcarce any thing elſe happen'd in his Reign, but what relates to *Diarmuid na Ngall* the

the *Leinſter* Kings Rape, and to the *Brittons* invited in by this *Diarmuid*; nothing I am ſure of thoſe warlike Actions and great Conteſts of this Monarch with other *Iriſh* Princes. But this defect in *Keting* is elſewhere abundantly ſupply'd, I mean by *Gratianus Lucius* in his *Cambrenſis Everſus*. In this Author, grounding himſelf on the Annals of *Inis Faile*, you may read that this *Ruaruidh* not only bore the Title of King of *Ireland*, but was ſo indeed. But, without any peradventure the Relation given by him, ſhews this laſt *Iriſh* Monarch's fatal Reign to have been fruitful enough of thoſe (and they the very laſt of thoſe) Inſtances I purpos'd to recount.

Immediately on the death of his Predeceſſor (kill'd by *Eochadh*) he march'd his *Connaght* Army to *Aſſa Ruah*, ſubdued all *Tirconel*, and received their Hoſtages. From thence both with his own *Connacians*, and the Legions of *Breithſne*, *Teamhſna*, and *Meath*, led on by *Tighernan O Ruairk* King of *Breithſne* and *Diarmuid O Maolſeachluinn* King of *Meath*, he march'd to *Dublin*, enter'd it, was entertain'd in it by the *Danes*, *Eaſterlings*, and other the Inhabitants of that City and Territories belonging to it, with all demonſtrations of honour: was proclaim'd their King: and they preſented by him according to the cuſtom then with a royal Gift of 4000 Beeves. From

hence, but joyning first all the Militia of those Citizens to his former Legions, he goes directly so accompanied to *Droghedagh* (the *Irish* call it *Droighid Ath*) is received there by *Donochad O Cearbheoil* King of *Oirghiallae*, has Hostages whom he pleas'd of that Countrey put into his power, and then causes a present of 2000 Beeves more to be in his name given that King. From thence returning back to *Leinster*, he advances to *Findorf*, gives Battel there to *Mac Murcho* King of *Leinster*, defeats him, pursues him, forces him at last to submit and give Hostages, then abridges him of his jurisdiction, leaves him only *Cionsallach*, and bids him be content with that, or he should lose that too. From thence he made his progress to *Mac Gille Phadruic*, the King of *Offory*; who delivering Pledges was royally treated and presented by him. And now he enters *Mounster*; has the submissions of all the Province: bestows *North-Mounster* on *Muirchiortach O Brien*, his own Brother by a Mother: commands pledges from *Diarmuid mhac Cartha* King of *South-mounster*: and so passes on in triumph to *Connaght* his own home, having well nigh surrounded the whole Island in this very first year of his Reign. After which circuit (and either in the same year of our Lord 1166, as *Gratianus* insinuates it to have been: or, at furthest in the next, as the Annals of *Ireland* in *Cambden* expressly say) it

was

was, that *Diamuid mhac Mhurrchadh*, (alias *Mhurchu*, and *Diarmuid na Nghall*) having committed the famous Rape (if it was a Rape) on *Tighernan O Roirk* King of *Breithfn*'s Wife, the ſame *Tighernan* to be reveng'd on *Diarmuid*, by the Monarch's Authority heading both his own *Breithne* Forces with thoſe of *Meath*, and moſt of *Leinſter* too, march'd into *Ibh-Cionſallach*; made *Diarmuid* fly beyond Seas; deſtroy'd his Caſtle at *Ferns*; divided his ſaid Countrey of *Cionſallach* between *Mac Gille Phadrick*, King of *Oſſory* and one *Murchadh* the Son of *Murchadh*; and then return'd with ſeventeen Hoſtages for the Monarch. And now this revenge or juſtice on *Diarmuid* being executed, the Monarch himſelf *An.* 1167. attended on by all the Kings and Nobles of *Mounſter*, *Leinſter*, *Meath*, *Breithfne*, *Combaicne*, *Orgbiall*, and *Ulidia*, or *Ulla* (which I take to have been then but a part of the now large Province of *Ulſter*) with all their Troops, conſiſting of Nine and thirty thouſand Foot, and one and twenty thouſand Horſe, march'd to *Ardmach*. From thence, of one ſide with thoſe great Land Forces, and from *Doire* (now by us call'd *London-derry*) on the other, where his Fleet of a hundred and ninety Sail had landed, he attacks *Tir-Eoghain* ſo furiouſly on every ſide, that after the ſtubborn Forces of that Coun-

trey, being first retired into their Woody Fastnesses, had not only in vain attempted to fall by Night on his Royal Camp, but instead thereof by a great mistake had fallen fouly on one another in the dark, they found it necessary on the fourth day to submit and deliver him Hostages. This Expedition being ended so, he breaks up his Camp, dismisses his great Army, the several Troops and Legions to their respective Countreys, returns himself by the way of *Assa Ruagh* to *Connaght* with the two *Mounster* Kings in his Company, entertains them nobly at his own Palace there, and at their departure presents them richly. But he had not rested above one week at home, when he had intelligence brought him of *Diarmuid mhac Mhurchadh* the *Leinster* King's being landed in *Cionnsallach* with forein Auxiliaries, possess'd already of *Wexford*, Master besides of a great part of *Leinster*, and a terrour to all the rest. Those call'd the *Annals of Ireland*, in *Cambden*, which yet began no earlier than four years before this Monarch *Ruiruidgs O Conchabhar*'s Reign, say these forein Auxiliaries landed *An* 1168. But the right *Irish* Annals that record their landing in the former year 1167. are followed by *Gratianus Lucius*, and him I follow. However presently on the news, *Ruaruidh O Conchabhar* the Monarch heading his *Conacian* Troops,

Troops, and joyning in his way the Militia of *Meath* and *Dublin*, marches to *Finderch*, finds out, fights and defeats *Diarmuid*. An atonement between them follows; *Diarmuid* giving the Monarch seven Hostages for his future fidelity, and paying a hundred ounces in Gold to *Tighernan O Ruairck* for the injury done him by the Rape. And yet *Diarmuid* by new Tumults the very next Year giving new jealousies, the Monarch marches against him the second time, and fights and foils him again. Though after all he was wrought upon to accept this second time of *Diarmuid*'s submission, promises, and base Son (for *Diarmuid* had none at this time remaining that was Legitimat) as a new addition to the former Hostages. In the same Year 1168. *Ludos Taltinos dedit*, says *Lucius*. That is, he gave and held with great solemnity the publick famous ancient Games at *Tailtean*. What these were, and who ordain'd them first, and upon what occasion you may peradventure know in the next Section. At present it may suffice to know they were much like the *Olympick* Games of *Greece*. But whatever this *Aonach* of *Tailteann*, as the *Irish* call it, be thought to have been, *Lucius* proceeds and tells us, that in the same Year also *Muirchiertach O Brien* King of North-*mounster* was murder'd by the South-

Mounſter men. That the Monarch made his Brother *Domhnal O Brien* King to ſucceed him: put him in full poſſeſſion: fined the *Deſmonians* in 5120 Beeves for killing his Brother: and made them effectually pay this Fine. The ſame Year likewiſe he fined the *Methians* in 800 Beeves, and the men of *Dealſna* heavily, for the killing of *O Finolan* one of their Lords. In the Year 1169. *Domhnal Breagach*, for being Author of *Diarmuid* the Prince of *Meath*'s death, he puniſh'd with the loſs of that Eſtate which the ſaid *Domhnal* by ſo wicked an Act of murder aim'd to inherit. But this Monarch did confiſcate it ſo, as he reſerv'd *Weſt-meath* to himſelf and the *Conacians*; beſtowing at the ſame time *Eaſt-meath* on the foreſaid *Tighernan O Ruairk* and his people of *Breithſne*. Anno 1175. *Domhnal O Brien* King of *North-mounſter*, pull'd out the eyes both of *Diarmuid mhic Teaidhg*, and *Mahoom mhic Toirrgiallaidgh vibh Bhrian*, yea and murder'd the Son of *Conchabhar O Brien* of *Corcumruadh*. To puniſh this Tyranny, *Rotherick* or *Roderick* (for ſo the *Engliſh* Writers name this *Ruadhruigh* the preſent Monarch) enters *Tomond*, makes *Domhnal* fly, and becauſe he could not find him, lays his whole Countrey waſte. In the ſame Year 1175. he defeated in *Ormund* (the *Iriſh* call it *Ir-mhoun*, that is, *Eaſt Mounſter*) both the *Welſh*,

Welſh, *Engliſh*, and *Iriſh* Troops led by *Strongbow*; kill'd 1700 of them in the place, and forc'd that Earl (how valiant and fortunate ſoever till then) to give over his preſent deſign, and retire in great diſorder to *Waterford*.

After this, but yet in the ſame Year ſtill, *Ruadhruigh* conſidering not only the defection of many of the Princes from him, but their variance among themſelves, and (which was moſt dangerous of all) his own Sons turn'd unruly and rebellious: and therefore conſidering alſo that himſelf alone was not able any longer to bear up againſt ſo many Enemies both Domeſtick and Foreign, *Iriſh* and *Britiſh*, well nigh already environing him round: he now at laſt deſcends to Capitulations of Peace with the King of *England*. The ſum of them, ſays *Lucius*, the *Iriſh Annals* deliver in words importing moſtly this ſenſe: 'that *Cathal* (alias *Catholicus*) *O Dubhay* Archbiſhop of 'Tuam return'd out of *England* with the *Peace* 'concluded by him there with *Henry* II. on 'theſe conditions, *viz.* That *Rotherick* ſhould 'enjoy ſtill the authority and Title of King 'over the *Iriſh*; and the Provincial Kings 'their reſpective dignities and power, but 'with their former dependance on and ſubje-'ction to him the ſaid *Ruadruigh* or *Rotherick*. But whatever thoſe Capitulations were, which

you may ſee more particularly and fully in *Roger Hoveden* (ad *An.* 1175. *pag.* 312.) the troubles of *Ruadhruidh* were but little abated by them. In the Year 1177. one of his own Sons, by name *Murchadh*, out of ſome unreaſonable pique turn'd moſt unnaturally Traytor to him: ſided with the common Enemy: and was the very Guide to *Miles Cogan* and his *Engliſh* Troops in their entring *Connaght*, or at leaſt from their coming to *Roſcommon* till they were ſoon after fought, and beat, and forc'd back out of that whole Province by *Ruaruidh* himſelf. Who thereupon ſeiz'd the ſaid *Murchadh*; and though his own Son put out his eyes for his rebellious unnatural Treachery (and juſtly enough without any peradventure:) as at the ſame time, for ſome other heinous tranſgreſſion he confin'd priſoner to the ſmall Iſland in *Loch-Cuam* his own other (yea his eldeſt) Son *Conchabhar*; whom notwithſtanding *O Flatherty* and other Favourers of this young Prince, reſcued by plain force within a twelvemonth from that reſtraint, and ſet at liberty. To conclude, partly the forein Invaders, but chiefly his own Children brought this laſt *Iriſh* Monarch's hoary hairs with grief to the Grave. Even his own eldeſt Son, the foreſaid *Conchabhar* in the year 1186. firſt depriv'd him of his very Kingdom of *Connaght*: then

then by ſundry other indignities forc'd him to fly away to *Mounſter:* and laſt of all, after he had been recall'd by the *Connaght* Nobility, compell'd him again to ſeek refuge in *Tir-Chonaill.* And here it was that this now afflicted man indeed, though in his youth and manly years too for ſome time the Darling of Fortune, found his long wiſh'd-for death among the *Chanon Regulars* in the Year of Chriſt 1198. having firſt by habit and profeſſion made himſelf a member of that Religious Order. He continued ſeventeen years poſſeſs'd, at leaſt in part and in Title, of his Monarchy over the *Iriſh.* For ſo many years their Antiquaries allow his Reign over *Ireland:* though from the beginning of it to his death, were efflux'd full two and forty years.

Thus you have in ſubſtance the account (and a very particular full one indeed it is) given by *Gratianus Lucius* of this very laſt *Mileſian* Monarch and his Reign over *Ireland.* Wherein, if I be not extreamly miſtaken, you have withal (though among other matters, which I have for ſome uſe that may be made of them hereafter mentioned) Inſtances enough anſwerable both in quality and number to thoſe alledged before out of any of the former Reigns of *Iriſh* Monarchs ſince *Maolſeachluinn* II. for demonſtrating what I intended by them all. Certainly theſe and

thoſe

thoſe jointly taken are ſufficient demonſtrations, that the Monarchs, Princes and other great ones of that Nation *receiv'd no correction* from the great Hand that from above ſcourg'd them ſo grievouſly, ſo often, and ſo long. Nor can it be denied, that the later part of the ſame Inſtances, (I mean that large part of them which hap'ned between *Maolſeachluinn* II. Reign, and *Ruadhruigh O Conchabhair*'s *death*) are moſt evident convictions of the little, nay the evil uſe, in order to any reformation of their fatal Feuds, they made of the hundred and thirty years freedom from foreign Enemies after the laſt expulſion or ſubjection of the *Danes*; though a large term of time queſtionleſs allow'd them by the extraordinary mercy of God to conſider, at leaſt then, more wiſely of the matter, and not only relent from their former unnatural courſes of perſecuting and ſpoiling, and killing, and murdering one another, but heartily repent what themſelves and their Parents and their Grandſires had done in that kind, exaſperating him continually to haſten on 'em that final doom of theirs which he had ſo long ſuſpended. Neither is it any further to be doubted, that both the former and later part equally of the ſame Inſtances are ſufficient proofs that thoſe paſſages of *Jeremy* the Prophet, which I have given before, (*page* 153.) how-

however in his time, and as ſpoken by him, deſcribing only the ſtubbornneſs of his own *Jewiſh* Countrymen, might nevertheleſs be moſt juſtly applied by *Keting* (the pious Reflecter on theſe matters) to the *Mileſian* race in *Ireland* at this time of theirs, after that nothing at all, neither adverſity nor proſperity, nor war nor peace, nor bondage nor liberty could reclaim them. Verily to me thoſe Inſtances are more than ſufficient proofs, That this wilful Generation of Chriſtians did at this time in the language of the holy Prophet, *harden their faces harder than a Rock*, and, e'en *refuſe to return*. Nay whatever any body elſe may think, certainly it ſeems further to me, that ſuch was the Judgment God himſelf gave of them. For (if I may be allowed once more to ſpeak my ſenſe in a ſymbolical or Metaphorical Scripture phraſe, and apply to them what another Prophet ſaid many Ages before on another Subject and of another Kingdom, but is applicable enough to them) at this very time, *The Watchman and holy one from Heaven* (Dan. 4.) pronounced the long ſuſpended Sentence, the fatal Decree, the final Doom, here on Earth, againſt this lofty-headed large-ſpread Tree of the *Mileſian* Stock in *Ireland*. At this time he commanded this Eternal Decree to be forthwith put in execution. At this time he call'd upon

on the new Miniſters of his Wrath, and bid 'em to *cut down this Tree, chop off its boughs, ſhake off all its leaves, diſperſe its fruit, make the beaſts fly that were under it, and the birds of the air from perching any more on its branches*; though withal bidding them to *leave the ſpring of the roots thereof ſtill in the ground.* And I am ſure, that to ſpeak plain without Similitude or Metaphor, what happened ſince the ſixth year of *Ruadhruigh O Conchabhar*'s Monarchical Reign hath manifeſtly ſhewn that from thence, *i. e.* from that year, which was of Chriſt's Incarnation 1172. We muſt date the laſt and heavieſt doom of Heaven declared againſt that People as to their Being in this World; Never more to have a King or State of their own; Never more to be a Free People on Earth, ſo as not to be under a forein Yoke. And I believe you will think the ſame when you conſider that ſince that *Epocha* or Date they and their poſterity after them have already ſeen five hundred Years and Eight of this their heavy Doom continued. Tho after all, upon after-thoughts, I think it more wiſe to ſuſpend than be poſitive in any judgment of the future; eſpecially conſidering the example of *Spain*, recovered after ſeven hundred years ſubjection to the *Moors*.

SECT.

SECT. V.

Five things conſidered: 1. *Other Nations have at* ſome times *no leſs bloodily engaged in mortal inteſtin Feuds, one againſt an other. Inſtances in the* Romans, Germans, Florentines, Italians *at large*, Spaniards, French, Saxons, Normans. 2. *Iriſh Princes renown'd for other excellent Qualifications than thoſe only of Martial Courage and Conduct. For Example, under Paganiſm, the Monarchs* Ollamh Fodhla, Feilim Rachtmhor, Conair Mor mhac Eidriſgceoil, Conn Ceadchathach, *and* Cormac mhac Airt; *(where alſo you will meet with a very ſingular tho only incidental ſtory of* Connor *the firſt Provincial King of the North of* Ireland.) *Under Chriſtianity, and for thoſe Excellencies moſt peculiar to Chriſtianity, firſt the Monarchs* Maolchoba, Flaithiortach, Niall Fraſſach, *&c. next, thoſe Provincial Kings,* Feilim mhac Criomthain, Aillill Anmhana, Cormack *the Biſhop and King of* Mounſter, *&c; and laſtly the Leſſer Kings,* Damhin mhac Damhinghoirt, Ferradhach mhac Duachadh, Maolbreſſel mhac Cearnaigh, *&c.* 3. *Several Princes, even after the* Daniſh *Wars,*

Wars, that, notwithſtanding whatever Natio-nal Feuds, effectually proved themſelves en-dued even with thoſe excellent political Vertues neceſſary for good Governours as ſuch. The firſt and great Inſtance Brian Boraimh; *then* Muirchiortach, *&c. Eccleſiaſtical Synods of the whole Nation held under the two or three laſt of theſe: and Monaſteries every where in all the Provinces, about the ſame time, erected anew. 4. Some, however few, yet very emi-nent, yea wonder-working Saints among their Church-men, eſpecially* Maolmoadh *and* Lauraſe *(in our Language,* Malachi *and* Laurence:*) the one Archbiſhop of* Ardmagh, *the other of* Dublin, *ſucceeding cloſe one another in the very laſt Age of the* Mileſians Reign *over* Ireland. *5. The* Decree *of the* holy Watch-man, *is nevertheleſs immutable.*

30. BUT before I enter on this great Con-verſion of the State of *Ireland*, ſeveral matters yet remaining of another nature than thoſe diſcours'd of lately muſt interpoſe.

The firſt is, That by any thing ſaid in ei-ther of the two laſt Sections, my meaning was not to make thoſe bloody Feuds, or conſequents of them, ſo peculiar to the *Mile-ſian* Race or *Iriſh* Nation, as if no other People or Nation eſteem'd either Chriſtian or Civil had been at any time ſo guilty in that kind as

as they. I was far from any ſuch thought. And indeed how could I be otherwiſe? For, without any ſtreſs laid upon the Poets Expreſſion,

Ad generum Cereris ſine cæde & ſanguine pauci
Deſcendunt Reges.

Nay without any aſſiſtance from either Pagan *Thebe*, or Chriſtian *Bizantium*, or any other Countrey ſo remote: the Hiſtories of all Nations much nearer us, particularly thoſe of *Rome*, *Germany*, *Italy*, *Florence*, *Spain*, *France*, and very ſingularly thoſe of the *Saxon Heptarchy* and *Barons Wars*, and *Lancaſter* and *York Diviſions* here at home in *England*, muſt evince the contrary. Even for that very chief Miſtriſs of Civility firſt, and then Chriſtianity, at leaſt in moſt parts of *Europe*, that ſeven hill'd *Rome*, that *eternal City* in *Valentinian*'s language, without any peradventure, the Foundation of Her cemented by *Romulus* with the blood of his Brother *Remus*: the Rebellion againſt *Tarquin*: the Factions of the *Plebeians*: the oppreſſions by and killing of the *Decemviri*: the Tyranny of *Tribuns*: the Tables of *Sylla* and *Marius*: with the Rivers of blood flowing from their Swords: the Conſpiracy of *Catilin*: the Civil Wars of *Cæſar* and *Pompey* following: and then

then the total change of their Commonwealth into a Principacity, compass'd not only by plain lawless rebellious Force, but by destruction of so many Myriads of men: and now thirty Emperors murdered at several times: and now also at one time, that is under *Gallienus*, at least Nine and Twenty Tyrants in several parts of the Empire set up for themselves, must evince the contrary. And so for *Germany* in later times the bloody contentions there so long continued, until at last they resolv'd into the prudent means of declaring an Heir apparent Successour and *Cæsar* in the Emperors Life-time: and the violent deaths of *Rudolphus*, *Albertus*, *Henry* VII. *Frederick* III. *Lewis* of *Bavier*, *Charles*, Nephew to the said *Henry*, *Gunther*, every one of them dispatch'd, as *Bodin* (a) says) either by Conspiracy or Poison, must evince the contrary. So for *Italy* the *Guelphs* and *Gibellins*, and (besides many other Instances) the prodigiously bloody revolutions of the *Florentin Republic* for 331 years, till after the slaughter, extermination and total extinction of one of the sides, it was in the memory of our Fathers, at least of our Grandfathers, by the prudence of *Cosmus Medices* reduced under the authority of a single Person, must evince the same truth. So for

(a) *Method. Histor.* pag. 450.

for *Spain*, *Alphonſus* III. by putting out the eyes of all his Brethren, ſave one that was kill'd. *Alfonſus* IV. with the like cruelty us'd by his own Brother *Raymirus*: *Peter* the Legitimat Son of *Alphonſus* XI. depos'd and kill'd by his Baſtard Brother *Henry*: *Garzias* by *Sanctius*: then *Sanctius* by *Vellidus*: and, after ſo many retaliations, all *Spain* under King *Roderic* betray'd to the *Moors* by a natural *Spaniard*, a Subject to that King, Count *Julian* (Prince of *Celtiberia*, as *Bodin* calls him) yea ſeven hundred thouſand *Spaniards* kill'd in the ſhort ſpace of fourteen months next following that hideous treachery, muſt evince mightily the ſelf-ſame truth. So for *France*, thoſe horrible Feuds, Combuſtions, Devaſtations, cruelties, inhumanities, barbarous ſacriledges of the late Civil Wars there, continued 40 years againſt four Kings (whereof you may read at large in *D'Avila*) and the Holy Ligue, and both *Henry* III. and *Henry* IV. one after another, ſo vilely murder'd by thoſe devoted Aſſaſſins of Hell, *Jacques Clement* and *Ravilliac*, evince it ſtill. Laſtly, and to come nearer home, tho in an earlier time, even ſo for *England*, 1. Thoſe eight and twenty *Saxon* Kings of the *Heptarchy*, part by one another kill'd, part by their own Subjects murder'd, beſides many other depos'd, and forc'd to fly away for their lives. For, as *Matthew* of

Westminster (*l.* 1. *c.* 3.) writes, of the very *Northumbrian* Kings alone, four were murder'd, and three more depos'd, within the little time of one and forty years only. And therefore it was, that *Charles* the *Great* of *France*, when the news of the last of them, by name *Ethelbert*, being murdered, came to his hearing, not only resolv'd to stop the presents he was before on sending to *England*, nor only to do the *English* in lieu of sending them gifts all the mischiefs he could; but said to *Aleuinus* an English man (his own Instructor in Rhetorick, Logick and Astronomy) *that indeed That was a perfidious and perverse Nation, a murderer of their Lords, and worse than Pagans.* Nay therefore also it was, that many of the Bishops and Nobles fled out of this *Northumbrian* Kingdom, and no man dared for 30 years next following venture on being their King; but all men declined it, and so left them a prey to the *Irish*, *Scots* and *Danes*, who by the just judgment of God over-run them and destroy'd them at last, on that very occasion principally. 2. Since the *Norman* Conquest, besides the horrible rebellion of *Henry* the 2d's own Children against him, and many other particulars which I pass over, not only all the calamities, miseries, cruelties, unspeakable evils of the Barons Wars on both sides, under King *John*, *Henry* III. and *Edward*

ward II. nor only the depoſition and murder too of this poor *Edward*, even his own Wife Queen *Eleanor*, and his own very Son the Prince of *Wales* having both of them concurr'd in the depoſing him and uſurping his Crown: but the moſt prodigiouſly mortal diſſentions of *Lancaſter* and *York* began with the rebellion againſt, depoſition and murder of *Richard* the II. and ſo bloodily proſecuted for thirty years under *Henry* VI. and *Edw.* IV. that beſides eleven main Battels fought with infinite ſlaughter of *Engliſh* men on either ſide; nay even twenty thouſand men kill'd (beſides the wounded) in one of them, which *Polydore* calls the Battel of *Touton*, a Village of *Yorkſhire*: the excellent Hiſtorian *Philip Comines* tells us of 80 of the Blood Royal deſtroyed in them: and among this number *Henry* VI. a moſt vertuous, innocent, holy King moſt barbarouſly murder'd. To ſay nothing of *Richard* the Third, that Uſurping Tyrant, ſo juſtly diſpatch'd in the Battel of *Boſworth*, by the Earl of *Richmond*, who thereupon ſucceeded King, by the name of *Henry* VII. and by marrying the Daughter of *Edward* IV. and thereby moſt happily uniting in himſelf and his Queen and Iſſue the right of the two Houſes, ended thoſe fatal diſſentions of *Lancaſter* and *York*. Diſſentions indeed ſo fatal to *England*, that beſides all her beſt blood

at home, as we have seen, by their long continuance from the year of Christ 1393. to the year 1486. lost Her not only the Kingdom of *France*, but even the more ancient Inheritance of our Kings in the Dukedoms of *Normandy*, *Aquitane*, and whatever else belong'd to the English Crown on that side of the Sea; only the Town of *Calais*, with its little Appendages excepted.

Were it necessary, *Buchanan* could furnish, out of the neighbouring Kingdom of *Scotland*, a very large addition of more examples to the purpose of this place. But more than enough has been already said to conclude that notwithstanding any thing or expression in either of the two former Sections, my meaning could not be to make those bloody Feuds in *Ireland*, or consequents of them, so peculiar to the *Milesian* Race or *Irish* Nation, as if no other People on Earth had been at any time guilty of the like or as horrid. The truth is, I mean'd only to say, That in respect of their long duration & perpetual return from time to time for almost five and twenty hundred years compleat, and their excessive degree at very many times within that long Succession of Ages, especially considering the small extent of *Ireland*, those cruel bloody Feuds were both National and peculiar to that People only. Which, I think, is true,

not-

notwithſtanding that other Nations, either much greater, or much leſſer, might have been in ſome few Inſtances of time as high, nay peradventure much more horrible tranſgreſſors in the very ſame kind than thoſe antient *Mileſians* were at any one time ſince their Conqueſt of *Ireland* from *Tuath-Dee-Danan*.

33. The ſecond point is, to do thoſe ancient *Mileſians* the right, as to acknowledg (what their Hiſtories have at large) That amidſt all the Feuds and fury of their Arms, how bloody or how laſting ſoever, they had ſeveral both Monarchs, and (after the Pentarchy was ſet up) leſſer Kings, yea ſome of thoſe too in their time of Paganiſm, and many more as well of thoſe as theſe after Chriſtianity eſtabliſh'd, that were of great renown among them for other excellent Qualifications becoming their dignity, than thoſe only of Martial Vertue and Fortitude.

In time of Paganiſm, they had their (XXII) Monarch *Ollamh Fodhla*; ſo called from his great Knowledg: that very name given him importing in *Iriſh* (as *Gratianus Lucius* hath obſerv'd) a great maſter in Sciences, and Teacher of all Knowledg to his People. It was he that divided the Lands of *Ireland* into Hundreds, call'd by them *Triochae-chead*; and placed a Lord over each Hundred, and over each Town of the Hundred a Bai-

liff, an Applotter of Duties, and receiver of Strangers, to provide Entertainment for them. They had their (XCI) Monarch *Conair mor mbac Eidirſgeoil*, ſo great a Juſticiar, ſo zealous a Proſecutor of all Malefactors, that although with great pains, induſtry, hazard to himſelf; yet he forc'd at laſt all kind of Robbers, Thieves, Vagabonds and Idlers to fly the whole Kingdom: and after this, during his Reign, the Cattel throughout all parts and Provinces wandred ſafely in the Fields without any Keeper. Beſides, the magnificent Hoſpitality of this Monarch is wonderfully celebrated in that Nation. Add hereunto this farther happineſs of his Reign, That in it the weather was ſo mild from mid-harveſt to mid-ſpring, that both Kine and Sheep and other Beaſts lay continually abroad in the open air without feeling one ſharp breath of wind; the Sea covered the very ſhores at *Imbherchoſptha* (then ſo called; after *Droichid ath*; by us now corruptly *Droghedae* or *Tredath*) with a moſt prodigious ejection of all ſorts of Fiſh: and the fruit-bearing Trees were ſo laden that they hung down their branches to the very earth.

They had their (CIV) Monarch *Conn*, ſurnamed *Ceadchatach*, whoſe Reign, notwithſtanding that prodigious number of Battels fought by him, as we have ſeen before,

was

was ſo wonderfully abounding in all earthly bleſſings throughout *Ireland*, that when the Writers of after-Ages were minded to expreſs any time of extraordinary abundance or plenty, they ſaid it was the Reign of *Conn Ceadchatach*, or *Conair Mor*, return'd again on Earth. Now doubtleſs, it could not be otherwiſe than morally impoſſible, that, conſidering all his Battels, there ſhould be ſo much plenty in every part of the Kingdom, had not he, as well as *Conair Mor* before him, been as good a Governour as he was a great Warrior. And yet, on this occaſion, let me tell you, that neither the one nor other excellency could ſave him from being murther'd. Whereof, becauſe of the extraordinary contrivance and manner of it, I take that notice here, which I find in *Gratianus Lucius*; though otherwiſe it may ſeem forein to this place; and *Keting* has not a ſyllable how, or where, or whether at all this Monarch died either of a natural or violent death, But thus in ſhort it happen'd. In the 35th year of his Reign, which was of Chriſt 157. being retired, without Guards, or much attendance; at a place then called *Tuaibaw-roit*, the King of *Ulſter*, by name *Tibraid Tirigh*, employed 50 young ſtriplings, clad like Maiden Ladies, to diſpatch him: and they did it, ſays *Lucius*. For it is only to him we are beholden as for many o-

ther particulars, so for this very singular one indeed. And, if I may conjecture, it was, or at least might well be thought the pattern, whence *Maolseachlainn* I. when he was yet but King of *Meath*, derived his own stratagem whereby he destroyed the *Danish* Tyrant *Turgesius*.

They had their (IVC) Monarch *Fearrhadhach Fachtnach*, a Prince of so much Truth in his words, and such integrity in his Life and Actions, that from thence he was surnamed *Fachtnach*, signifying in *Irish Truth* and *Integrity*, says the same Author *Lucius*. And it is observable, what both he and *Keting* write of one *Moran*, chief Justice under this King, that he had a ring or hoop of such Vertue, that when it was put about the Neck of any Judg or any Witness whatsoever, at the time the one was to give Sentence, or the other to depose upon Oath, if either did swerve a title from the right, then presently it clasp'd, and pinch'd and wrung them so close, that to avoid present death by strangling, they retracted openly before all the Spectators what they had so wickedly done amiss. Whence proceeded that Proverbial wish among the *Irish*, *O That he had Moran's Ring about his Neck!* when they suspect the truth or integrity of any person. But to proceed with their Kings.

They

They had their (CII) Monarch *Felim* surnamed *Rachtmhor* from his being a Great Maker of excellent wholsome Laws. Among which he eſtabliſh'd with all firmneſs that of *Retaliation:* kept to it moſt inviolably; and by that means preſerv'd the people in peace, quiet, plenty, and ſecurity during his Time.

They had their (CIX) Monarch *Cormock mhac Airt*, who (ſays *Lucius*) in making good Laws for the Commonwealth, and obſerving them, exceeded by much all his Predeceſſors. He wrote a Book of the Inſtitution of a Prince to his Son *Cairbre*. He had the *Pſalter of Taragh* compoſed. In this he gives an account at large, 1. of all the noble *Iriſh* Families, their propagation, and relation by blood one to another. 2. Of the limits not only of every Province of *Ireland*, but of every Countrey both great and ſmall in each of them. 3. Of the Duties, Rents, Tributes paid uſually out of each Province to the Monarch or King of *Ireland*. 4. Of the Duties paid unto the Provincial Kings by the Lords their Vaſſals. 5. And finally of the Rents accrewing to every ſuch Lord from his Tenants any where in the Kingdom.

The Book alſo which they call in Iriſh *Sanaſan Chormaic* (and we in *Engliſh* may call the Etymological Dictionary of *Cormock*) is by moſt aſcribed to him; though by ſome to

Cormock

Cormock O Cuillenan the holy King and Archshop of *Mounſter*. I paſs over his Martial Spirit, his Fortune and ſucceſs in Arms. Tho it was he, that when by the ſurpriſal, force and rebellious uſurpation of *Ferghuſſa Dubhdeadach* King of *Ulſter*, he had been firſt diſpoſſeſs'd of his Royal Manſion of *Teambuir* (alias *Taraeh*) and then affronted with the burning of his Beard, as well by the command or direction, as by the ſervant of the ſame *Ulſter* King *Feargbuſſa* (for ſo *Gratianus Lucius* calls this *Northern* King; tho *Keting* names him *Giolla*, as I have done before:) and then after this affront, had been baniſh'd into *Connoght*; yet within a twelve month, accompanied with 30 great Lords, 50 other Chieftains, and fifty thouſand men, gave Battel at *Criombreag* to this Uſurper, kill'd him, deſtroy'd his Army, and for the reſt of his *Ulſter* adherents, baniſh'd them for ever to the Iſle of *Man*. Yea it was he, that after this Field, was further yet Conqueror of all his other Enemies in 36 Battels more: and thereby gave perfect peace to the whole Kingdom for the remainder of his long reign, which laſted in the whole forty years. And further alſo, it was he that with the Sword of Juſtice took revenge on the more than ſavage cruelty of *Dunling* (the Son of *Eudeus*) that murdered thoſe 30 celebrated Virgins living collegially

ly as in the Temple of *Vesta* at *Gluais-fearn* in *Teamhair*; all of them of such Royal extraction and quality, that each had 30 Virgins more in retinue; which made in all Nine Hundred. For that unparallel'd Savageness of *Dunling*, this Monarch destroy'd the twelve Tyrants of *Leinster*, who either by approbation of it, or defence of him, were guilty of it. Lastly, It was he, that (whether on this occasion or no, I know not. But this I know that *Lucius* writes, how it was he, that) even to a farthing's worth made the Province of *Leinster* pay the old *Fostrian* Fine impos'd upon them by *Tuathal Teachtmhor*. Which this Author says consisted (not of 3000, but) of 15000 Cows, and so many Hogs, Mantles, Silver Chains, Cauldrons of Brass, or Coppers, that is 15000 of each, and each Cauldron as large as that in the Monarch's Kitchin at *Tarach*, which boil'd together at one boyling twelve Beeves and twelve Hogs. Add further yet, as part of this heavy *Leinster* Fine, says *Lucius*, 30 either white or red Cows, with their Calves of the same colour; 30 brass Collars for those Cows to keep them quiet in their stabling, and 30 other brazen ties for their feet also to keep them gentle at their milking. Where nevertheless I must take notice, that *Lucius* in this Account does much vary from *Keting*: and that, whatever may be thought

of

of all other particulars of it, ſurely the number of 15000 Cauldrons (or Coppers, as we call them now) of that capacity, ſeems to me ſomewhat incredible. But leaving this to the Readers indifferency: what is more proper here may be read in the ſame Author *Lucius*, where he tells us next of this Monarchs port and magnificence in Houſe-keeping: which, though very great indeed, is however (I think) credible enough. He had eleven hundred and fifty Waiters that ſerv'd him ordinarily at Table in his great Hall at *Tarach*. And this Hall was by himſelf built of purpoſe to anſwer in its capacity the entertainment and attendance of a great King. It was 300 Foot long, 30 Cubits high, and 50 Cubits broad, with fourteen Doors opening into it. And the daily ſervice of Plate, the Flagons and Cups of Gold, Silver, and precious ſtone, at his Table there, conſiſted of a hundred and fifty pieces in all.

What is beſides delivered of this Monarch is, That (which among the truly wiſe muſt be more valuable than any worldly magnificence or ſecular glory whatſoever) He was to all mankind very juſt: and in his later days through the mercy of God, very pious alſo & religious towards him. That ſo ſtrangely powerful on a ſudden were his inward

illuminations. That in plain terms he now refus'd his Druids any more to worship their Idol Gods. That soon after he openly professed he would no more worship any but the only true God of the Universe, the *Immortal and Invisible King of Ages*, as the great Apostle calls him. And finally that those Priests of the Devil, by their Necromantical adjurations and ministery of damned Spirits raised from Hell, God permitting it, wrought his destruction by choaking him, as I have said before. For in such manner and for such a cause died this great and happy King of *Ireland*, *An. Christi* 266. But whether he may, or may not therefore, be rank'd among the true Christian Martyrs? I leave others to judge.

And the same question might peradventure be rationally put (though not, I confess, with the same advantage of the circumstance of violence from an external cause) concerning *Connor* the first Provincial King of *Ulster*, made by the Monarch *Eochuidh Feilioch* himself the Author of the *Pentarchy*, about 400 years before the Birth of Christ. This *Connor*'s Druyd, or Magitian, which you please to call him, having it seems the spirit of Prophecy (as you see in the Book of Judges that *Baldam*, though otherwise a Heathen wicked Idolater, had the like) on a day speaking

ſpeaking his Raptures to *Connor*, and among other things, delivering much of the Son of God that was to come down from Heaven to ſave mankind, and was nevertheleſs to ſuffer the moſt cruel death of the *Croſs*, from his own beloved Countrymen the *Jews* whom he came to ſave before any others: *Connor* (ſays *Keting*) on the hearing of all became ſo affected firſt with the ſtupendious mercy of God to Sinners: and then preſently ſo tranſported againſt the ungrateful *Jews*, that, being in a great Wood at the time of this Diſcourſe, he drew his Sword, fell a ſlaſhing and cutting the Trees about him on every ſide with the greateſt fury could be: imagining he had before him ſtill thoſe cruel men that put our Saviour to death: and continued ſo long in this paſſionate action of tranſport, till by overheating himſelf and the opening thereby of ſome old wounds he had in his skull, he died.

What the Reader may anſwer to the foreſaid Quere in relation to either of theſe two Kings, I know not. But think nevertheleſs what St. *John Chryſoſtom* would have anſwer'd it very conſequently, at leaſt in reference to the former, had the caſe been debated by him, when he wrote his Three Books *de Providentia Dei*, to *Stagirius*, a holy Monk, that notwithſtanding his holipeſs, was through the

permiſſion of God, either poſſeſs'd, or obſeſs'd, or both, by the power of the Devil.

It was alſo in the time of *Ireland*'s Paganiſm, that *Niall* the *Great*, ſurnamed *Naoighiollach* (in Latin *Noui-obſes*, in Engliſh *Niall of the Nine Hoſtages*, becauſe ſays *Colgan*, in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, from *Ulſter*, *Connaght*, *Mounſter*, *Leinſter*, the *Britons*, *Picts*, *Dal-Rheudans*, and *Morini* a People of *France*, in all nine Nations, he had Hoſtages) did reign the CXX. or CXIX. Monarch of the *Iriſh*. Of whoſe great cruelty in his judgment given againſt *Eochuidh* King of *Leinſter*, becauſe I have ſo particularly ſpoken before: I will not conceal now what I have ſince obſerv'd in *Gretianus Lucius* of the extraordinary favour of God unto him. For ſuch we muſt undoubtedly acknowledg it to have been: ſeeing it was no leſs than a heavenly illuſtration of his mind with the beams of Chriſtianity to that degree, as turn'd him wholly to a new man of perfect holineſs. Nor yet leſs than that above a hundred years after his death, his Body on the opening of his Shrine, or Tomb (which I take to have been on *Cruach Phadruig* in *Connaght*, whither the Army brought his Body from *France*) was found entire without any corruption. Nay nor a jot leſs than that a Chriſtian Biſhop, namely St. *Cernachus*, infected with the Leproſie was perfectly

fectly cured by visiting and lying down in that very Shrine of this *Great Niall Naoighiallach.* So writeth *Gratianus Lucius*, quoting for his Author, *Colgan.* And so I have done with those few of the Kings of *Ireland* in the time of Paganism, that besides many more of that very time and their Catalogue, have been for several great Excellencies, other than those of warlike bravery or success, renown'd in that Nation.

34. But after Christianity had been among the people of *Ireland* universally preach'd and establish'd, yea and all along from time to time in the succeeding Ages, not even those very Ages following the horrible desolations by the *Danish* Wars excepted, they had questionless (notwithstanding all their intestin Feuds) many more both Monarchs, Provincial Kings, and other lesser Kings too, famous in their generation as well for other great Vertues, especially those peculiar to Religion, as for those of Martial fortitude and Valour. Yet because I perceive this little Book to swell insensibly beyond my design: I pass over much of that which otherwise I would have willingly mention'd in this place. And therefore what I can briefly on the present Subject observe, is,

First in general, the wonderful Devotion, Zeal, Religious Liberality of the first Christian Monarchs, Provincial Kings, and other great Lords

Lords of *Ireland*, who upon their first conversion not only parted so readily with the whole Tenths of their Estates real and personal, nay and of their Subjects also, both men and women, by the dedication of all, in a peculiar way to God, as hath been said before, but were so fervently Zealous, even to a degree of excess, in this kind, that (as both *Keting* and *Lucius* relate it) if St. *Patrick* would have receiv'd what they offer'd more, their Successors should have scarce been left the grazing of four Beasts to bestow on the Church.

Secondly in particular, the great number of those Princes, one after another in the succession of so many Ages, that notwithstanding all the bloody Feuds and warlike humor of their Nation, withdrew themselves in time from sin, yea from all the pleasures, vanity, pomp, earthly glory of their condition, and by contemning the world for the sake of God, made themselves greater than the World. A large list of them you may find partly in *Keting*, but more amply and exactly in *Lucius*. And they were those that stripping themselves naked to follow *Christ*, and shutting themselves up in Cloysters made choice of the better part with *Mary* at the feet of our Lord.

Such were the Monarchs, 1. *Maolchoba*,

who by the prayers of *Columbe-Cille* recovering from death to life, thereupon without delay, *Anno* 610. renounc'd the World, enter'd a Monaſtery, profeſs'd himſelf a Monk, and was after, in regard of his holineſs, made Biſhop of *Kildare*. 2. *Flaithbiortach*, who likewiſe (though without any ſuch inducement as *Maolcheba* had) in perfect health, vigour, ſtreingth, deliberately choſe to diſpoil himſelf of all earthly greatneſs, Goods, Employments, and exchange them all for a poor monaſtick Weed in the Monaſtery of *Ardmagh*; for a penitential courſe of life within the walls of that encloſure; and for a Chriſtian happy death, which he found in that ſame place, after nine years more had been over in his holy exerciſes there. 3. *Niall Fraſſach*, that not only quitted the Crown and Power, but the very Soil of *Ireland*, by retiring to the *Scottiſh* Iſle of *Hy*; and there in *Columb Cille*'s Monaſtery, devoting himſelf wholly to works of Chriſtian repentance, after eight years continual preparation by them for his paſſage to immortality, had it in the year 773. of our Saviour's Incarnation. 4. *Muirchiortach* (great Grandchild to *Brien Boraimh*, and one of *Ketings* Monarchs of *Ireland*) who, having reſign'd his Royal Authority, and, together with it, whatever elſe he poſſeſs'd or loved on earth, put on the habit of a pooor religi-

ous

ous man at *Lismore*, where without looking back, he ended happily his days. 5. *Domhnal mhac Ardghair*, who (according to *Colgan*, as we have seen before) was also King of *Ireland*, though in his declining years, yet amidst his prosperity retiring to the Abbey of *Doire Cholumb-Cille*; employing the remainder of his life there in exercises of piety, holiness, and mortification; and lamenting the sins of his former days; prepared for, encountred, and receiv'd death with a serene countenance, full of hopes of a glorious Immortality. But whether he took upon him the outward profession of a Monk in those exercises there, or did not, I can say nothing on either side. Nor is it very material to know: seeing the inward habit of his Soul yielded fruits worthy of true repentance and the severest outward profession of it. 6. *Ruaruidh O Conchabhair*, the very last *Irish* Monarch, we have shewn likewise before, to have made a religious life, under the Habit and in a Cloister of *Augustinian* Chanon Regulars, his last refuge in this World from so many vicissitudes of Fortune. There it was he became so truly wise indeed as to prepare only for that other World; which, being planted far above all the glory of the Sun, and all the Circles of time, expects only Souls either never tainted with sin at any time, or

by perfect repentance, at least before death throughly purified from its deadly sting. And such indeed, for making choice either sooner or later of the better part with *Mary*, were those now enumerated Monarchs of *Ireland*. And yet I know not why I might not add to their number *Maolseachluinn* I. and *Brian Boraimh*. For albeit they never had been either profess'd Monks, Anchorites, or Clerks, nor divested of their Authority Royal, nor at all outwardly retired from the cares of the Publick, or management of their own domestick affairs, or comfort of their Wives and Children: yet their piety of life was such as purchas'd for them after death the reputation of holy men. Yea S. *Cairbre* Bishop of *Cluanmhac-Noise*, when the former died *Anno* 865. being in extasy, beheld his Soul ascending to glory, says *Lucius*. And the later has been inserted not only by *John Wilson* in his *Martyrologe*, but by *Henry Fitz Simons* in his *Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland*: both these Authors having in this particular followed *Marianus Scotus*.

Of the Provincial Kings a far greater number, and some of them very early, that is in their very youth, made the same prudential, wise, divine choice. *Ailill Anmhanna* King of *Connaght* led so wonderfully strict a life, according to the exactest Rules of Christianity,

ty, that upon his death it pleaſed God to ſhew his Soul to *Columb-Cille* aſcending to Heaven, *Anno* 544. *Cormac* King of South *Leinſter*, about the Year of *Chriſt* 567. quitting voluntarily his Kingdom went to *Beannchuir*, profeſs'd himſelf there a Monk, continued in the ſame place leading a life truly anſwerable to his profeſſion, till death tranſlated him to happineſs *Anno* 567. which the *Iriſh* Church believing has placed him in her Calendar of Saints. *Aodh Dubh* King of *Leinſter*, forſaking in the ſame manner both his Kingdom and whatever elſe he might enjoy on earth, took the Monaſtical habit and Vows upon him; lived accordingly ſome years in the Monaſtery of *Kildare* an underling; was after made Abbot, then Biſhop of the ſame Cloiſter and See; deceaſed *Anno Chriſti* 638. and in fine was recorded in the Regiſter of Saints. *Ceallach mhac Reghal*, King of *Connaght*, made the like exchange of a Kingdom for a Cloiſter: died in the Year of our Lord 703. and is invoked particularly at *Lochkinne* as their tutelary Patron. *Ardghal mhac Cathail* King of *Connaght*, the very ſame; only that to be further off from all noiſe of the World, he retired out of *Ireland* to the Monaſtery of *Columb-Cille* in the Iſland of *Hy:* where, in the ſeventh year of his peregrination, which

was of *Christ* 786, he ended his mortal course. Before him a little, that is *Anno Christi* 739. flourished the good King of *Ulster*, *Fiacha mbac Aodh Roin*, surnamed *In Droichid* from his continual care of building Bridges everywhere throughout his Kingdom to make the ways more passable: for *Droichid* in their Tongue signifies a Bridge. He was even to admiration vertuously just and equitable to all persons whatsoever Only one Cow taken away by stealth within his Dominion, and because peradventure (says *Gratianus Lucius*) the Author of this stealth had not been with due severity punish'd, he inflicted the remainder on his own person, by going a Pilgrimage to *Beannchuir*. In his Reign and Year of *Christ* 743. (not as *Cambrensis* has it, *biennio ante adventum Anglorum*, two Years only, but 424 Years before the first landing of *Fitz Stephens* in *Ireland*. So far is *Cambrensis* out in his relation of the very time of this matter) it happening that a prodigious Whale with three golden Teeth stranded at *Carlingford*, within his jurisdiction; each Tooth weighing fifty ounces of Gold: he gave one of them to the chief workman-builder of the foresaid Bridges; the other two he dedicated to the making of Shrines in the Monastery of *Beannchuir* for those holy

Topog. dist. 2. c. 10.

holy relicks there, on which the Countrey people did uſe to take their moſt ſolemn Oaths for ending all Controverſies ariſen. *Felim mhac Criomthain*, alias in Latin *Feidlimidius*, that moſt famous King (though not of *Ireland*, wherein alſo *Cambrenſis*, as in moſt his other Relations concerning *Ireland*, has moſt groſly err'd, but) of *Mounſter*, having proſperouſly reigned 27 years, and within that time what by harraſſing, what by fighting *Leath-Cuinn*, humbled them mightily, at laſt reſign'd his Crown: retired from all ſecular Employments, all earthly joys, pleaſures, vanities: withdrew to a Wilderneſs: turn'd a poor Hermit there: continued ſo the reſt of his life, devoting himſelf wholly to God, till death call'd him away, under the Monarchy of *Niall Caille*, in the Year of *Chriſt* 845. For then it was that he departed hence, with the Opinion both of a great Saint, and of as excellent a Writer too as that Age might have, ſays *Lucius*. The *Iriſh* Book, call'd *an Leabhar Irſi* (or, as *Keting* expounds it, the Book of their Annals) has in ſhort this *Elogy* of him: *Optimus, ſapiens & Anachoreta Scotorum quievit.* Contemporary to him was *Fionachta-Luibhne* King of *Connaght*, who in the ſame manner exchang'd his Royal Robe for an Hermits

Coat: and all the attendance, wealth, delights, pomp, gayety of a Palace, for the loanlineſs, poverty, ſilence, obſcurity of an uncouth, naked ſolitude: to prepare himſelf for the laſt day of his life; which he ended there *Anno* 846. Next to this *Fionachta*, in order of time, the King of *Leinſter*, *Dunlingmhac Muireadhach* retired both from his Kingdom and all worldly things elſe into the Monaſtery of *Kildare*, profeſſing Monk, and continuing there in the exerciſes firſt of an Underling, then of an Abbot, till in the Year 867. he finiſh'd happily his courſe. And after him, *Domhnal*, ſon to the Monarch of *Ireland Aodh Fionnliach*, devoted himſelf to the ſervice of God, in the habit and profeſſion of a moſt godly mortified Eccleſiaſtick. In which condition he received without any fear at all the King of terrours, Death, in the Year of our Saviour 911. Him, although at a great diſtance of time, followed *Ruaruidh O Conchabhair* King of *Connaght* (I mean the Father of *Toirghiallach mor O Conchabhair* Monarch of *Ireland*) who in the 20th year after that *O Flaithbhiortach* had put out his eyes, enter'd the Order of *Canon-Regulars*, and among them rendred his Soul to his Redeemer *An.* 1118. And ſo did the King of the *Dublinian Danes*, and *Leinſter* Iriſh, *Domhnal O Brien*, ſon to *Muirchiortach O*

Brien

Brien King of *Ireland*, renounce his Kingdom, profess Clerk at *Lismore*, and accordingly there continue a life of penance to his death, which happened *Anno Dom.* 1135. Lastly, the religious Devotion of *Cathal Crudhearg* King of *Connaght* (*Lucius* calls him in Latin *Cathaldus à rubro Carpo*) is very much celebrated amongst his Countrymen in all their Histories. He, after the death of his Wife, gave up his Kingdom, profess'd *Cistercian* Monk in the Monastery built by himself at a place in *Connaght* call'd the *Hill of Victory*, and in the Year of *Christ* 1224. breath'd out his last in the same religious Cloister. The great liberality of this Provincial King to the Church, and particularly the large extent of Lands bestowed for ever by him upon that *Cistercian* Abbey *de Colle Victoriæ*, when he built it, may perhaps be elsewhere in this Treatise reflected on. At present, and because I have now done with all the most singular patterns of Piety recorded among the Provincial Kings of that Nation;

I proceed to those of the most celebrated memory, in that respect, among their Lesser Kings. Such were *Dambin mhac Dambinghoirt*, King of *Orghillae*, departed this life *Anno Dom.* 560. and *Ferrbadhach mhac Duacha*, parted in the Year 582. whose Souls are said by

by the *Iriſh* Writers to have been ſhew'd to *Columb-Cille* aſcending to Heaven *abſque pœnis purgatorii*. Such was *Brian Boraimh*'s Anceſtor in the ſeventh degree of aſcent, by name *Toirrghiallach*, by Title or Dignity King of *Dal-Gheaſs*, or rather indeed (ſays *Keting*) of *North-Mounſter*, whom the Year 690. or thereabouts, after he had beſtow'd all the Iſlands in his Kingdom on poor ſtrangers, to be inhabited and cultivated by them, put on a Monks Cowl at *Liſmore*: and for his daily employment either poliſh'd ſtones for the building of Churches there, or mended High-ways. So that he was never idle, but diſcharging continually with his own hands the part ſometime of a Stone-cutter: at other times that of a poor ordinary Maſon, or meaneſt Day-labourer. Such *Maol-breſſal mhac Cearnaigh* King of *Mogh dornuigh*; who, after quitting the World, profeſſing Monk, and living in that profeſſion many years like a Saint, was kill'd at laſt by the *Danes*, *Anno* 847. Such *Maolduin* King of *Oiligh*, ſon to *Aodgh Ordnigh* the Monarch, that forſook all whatever was deſireable on earth, took the ſame courſe of a profeſs'd religious Life in a Monaſtery for many years, never look'd back, never took his hand off the Plough till death ſeiz'd him in the Year of *Chriſt* 865. Such alſo were *Maolbride* King of *Cineal-Gonail*, and

Dombnal

Domhnal King of *Cineal-Laoghaire*, who trampling underfoot all worldly temptations, assumed the Monastic habit, retired into Cloister'd Cells, and for the remainder of their lives, which was of many years, continued their station there, practising only the methods of dying to themselves and living to Christ, till the blessed hour came when he call'd them to himself, the former *Anno* 897. the later *Anno* 882.

And after them *Donochadh* (the son of *Ceallach*, and Son-in-law to *Donochadh mhac Flainn* the Monarch) King of *Offory* is next recorded as a man of exceeding piety and godliness, though never so profess'd Monk, nor at all retir'd in outward appearance from the duties of his secular Employment. His care of the poor was such that in his time every house in *Offory* had three several Bags for daily Collections of Victuals to feed them. One that receiv'd the tenth part of every persons meal: none at all of the Family, no not even of the servants, excepted. Another design'd for the portion of Saint *Michael* the *Archangel*, as they call'd it. And a third was under the peculiar charge of the good Wife, to see all the scraps gathered into it. Besides he was himself exceeding bountiful to them. And then his devotion at Church, frequentation of the Sacrament, watch over his own senses, delight in all divine things, continual exercise

exercise in all good works, made his memory pleasant and fragrant, and sweet and precious after his death. The debt of Nature, that open'd for him the passage into a blessed immortality, he paid in his Father-in-law's Reign over *Ireland*, that is, between the Years 918. when this Monarch *Donochadh mhac Flainn* be gun his reign, and the year 942. when he ended it.

I might on this occasion peradventure call to mind what *Keting* has of *Scanlan mor mbic Cinfoala*, a former King of *Ossory*, his grateful devout liberality in applotting and enjoyning three pence a smoak throughout his Countrey, to be paid yearly for ever to *Columb-Cille*'s Abbey there at a place call'd *Durramb*. And I might withal remember how great, how beneficial, yea how wonderful even to this very *Scanlan* himself the inducement he had to this Devotion was. For it was no less than his miraculous delivery from the very extreamest rigours of a most cruel imprisonment, and twelve chains of Iron loading him, and no drink at all allow'd him to quench his thirst, when at *Colum-Cille*'s instance for him in prayer to God, he was on a sudden by an Angel of glory from Heaven rescued, the Prison at midnight enlightned, his chains unlooſed, his Keepers thrown down, the Gates open'd, he led forth, and then presently as it were in another instant

ſtant of time, both conducted and preſented to his Wonder-working Patron *Columb-Cille* that expected him at that very hour. But as I have partly before touch'd upon the extraordinary Obligation laid by this miraculous favour on *Scanlan:* ſo let it ſuffice here to have only mention'd ſo much of his grateful acknowledgment thereof.

And yet perhaps it may not be amiſs to let the Reader know, what *Lucius* on the foreſaid occaſion hath obſerv'd of the Kings of *Offory* in general, or indeed rather of the *Iriſh* Hiſtorians in relation to them, *viz.* That theſe Writers do ſeem all of them to have ſome peculiar eſteem for the Kings of *Offery* above any other of the Leſſer Kings of *Ireland.* For when they give a Catalogue of thoſe Provincial Kings of the *Pentarchy*, that is of thoſe of *South-Mounſter*, *North-Mounſter*, *Connaght*, *Leinſter*, and *Ulſter*, that were contemporary to the Monarchs whoſe Reigns, Lives, Acts they principally write: it may be ſeen in all their Books that then alſo they give a particular account of the Kings of *Offory*; though on that occaſion they take no kind of notice of any other of all the Leſſer Kings of *Ireland.* What the reaſon hereof may be, I cannot divine; it not that peradventure they valued (as *Lucius* ſays) theſe *Offory* Kings not upon the extent of their Dominion, which yet

yet was not contemptible, but on their bravery and Martial courage like that of *Eumenes* (in *Plutarch*) who when he had but one Caſtle remaining in his poſſeſſion, would not otherwiſe capitulate with *Antigonus* but upon equal terms of honour: as not eſteeming any man better than himſelf whiles he had a Weapon in his hand. But be this conjecture as you pleaſe,

I return back to the Subject I was on before. I now give the only two remaining of thoſe Leſſer Kings, that are celebrated for their prudent piety in their abandoning all they had on earth, taking up their *Croſs* and following *Chriſt* in the poverty, habit and mortifications of a religious Life. Theſe were *Maolmordha Huadombnail* King of *Cionſallach*, who paid his tribute to Nature *Anno* 1022. and *Vadah O Conchanain* King of *Huadiarmada*, above a hundred years after; for he ended his days *Anno* 1167.

Nor have I any other to add to them, but only *Conchabhar O Cealla*, ſurnamed *of the Battles*, King of *Mannech* in *Connaght*: whoſe Chriſtian vertues are wonderfully admired by all the *Iriſh* Hiſtorians. Though he was a man that not only till the laſt continued in his ſtation of a Prince and Governour of his People, but a very notable Warriour too, as you ſee that ſurname of his imports, *cui cognomento*

nomento à Prœliis, says *Lucius*. In short, they write of him, 1. That he maintain'd in Clothes and Diet 300 Clerks, Monks, and poor Women: founded twelve Churches in *Moanmaigha*, endow'd them with Lands, render'd them exempt from all publick Duties: built the Cathedral Church of St. *Brandan* at *Cluainfert*, and the other of St. *Kieran* at *Cluain-mhac-Noise*; gave these two Cathedrals large possessions; furnish'd them with Ecclesiastical Books, Chalices, costly Palls, Vestments, and all other necessaries for the holy Ministery. 2. That he tyth'd his whole Estate three several times: bestowed the Tenth of it on the Churches; the Ninth on the poor, and the Eighth part on the Clerks and others that came for assistance and relief to his House. 3. That after all being warr'd upon by *Conchabbar Moinmhuigh* (son to *Ruaruidgh* the last *Irish* Monarch) by the *Mac Teigs* also, and other great Lords associated against him: and an agreement made between both sides to put the quarrel to the issue of a pitch'd Battel, with this caution and mutual promise, that neither should come unto it nor fight in it with Armour, *i. e.* with breast, or back, or Habergion, or any coat of Maile: and he for his part most religiously out of meer conscience of his word, keeping to that caution; but they on the other side, without any regard of theirs,

having

having dealt perfidiously by covering themselves with Armour under their Cassocks: the issue was the slaughtering of a great number of his Army, the routing of the rest, and killing of him among others in the Field; which they call the Field or Battel of *Srugheal*, fought in the year of our Saviour Christ, 1180. 4. That upon the news, those 360 Pensioners above mention'd of his, though not living together in one place, but far and wide distant in their several Habitations, yet in all the hast they could, arriving all of them on the third day where his Body was; and there, upon the sight of it, first giving way to Nature by venting their extream grief in abundance of tears, groans, and lamentations for him, but more especially because he that maintain'd so many Ministers for God, had not so much as any one of them, or any other such to assoil him or comfort him in the last hour: then taking his head (for it was cut off) and sowing it to his body: and this done, laying themselves on their knees, they prai'd, &c. crying to God mightily, and with wonderful Faith beseech'd him to return back the Soul of their dear Benefactor into his Body, while he prepar'd himself by repentance and reconciliation, and the Sacraments of Christ for a more quiet, and hopeful departure. 5. Lastly, That their prayers were so efficacious, and the

the mercy of God so extraordinarily propitious to *Conchabbar*, that he revived presently, confess'd his sins, received the holy *Viaticum*; but then, as he told them, chose rather to die than live any longer. Adding withal, that the true cause why God would have him defeated and kill'd in that Battle was, that he had not incontinently punish'd some wickedness committed by his Brother. Which yet he had not forgiven, but only delai'd to judg: as having never once heard of it before that very morning when he was preparing for Battel, and consequently his Soul taken up wholly with other cares. Whereby, says *Gratianus Lucius*, relating this matter at large, and quoting *O Duvegan* for it, we may guess at the condition of those Governors that wilfully and deliberately not only delay the punishment of so many horrible crimes they see daily committed even against all Justice and Religion; but resolve never to punish them. *Nec enim injuria quis dixerit eum sævire in bonos qui parcit malis.*

But if you be of an other judgment, as to this Maxim I mean, *That he is cruel to the good who spares the wicked:* or if peradventure you boggle at the miraculous part either of this Relation of *Conchabbar O Cealla's death*, or of the former enumeration of such *Irish* Christian Monarchs, Provincial and other Lesser Kings who have been famous in their time for piety:

you may pass it over, and leave it to the devotion and credulity of other men that have not the same apprehensions, doubts or scruples, as they have not the same soul with you. I am sure that laying all such matters aside, there is among those great Examples of Virtue, enough still remaining to edifie any good Christian, or any sober man alive. Though I must tell you withal, that as no Writer holds himself accountable either for the verity or falsity of any other matters of Fact whatsoever written by him out of ancient History: so much less for those of Miracles. And yet further I must acknowledg, that I know not whether any man writing purposely of a Nation or People that both firmly do believe such miraculous works to have been wrought by God among their Predecessors, and would perhaps hold it a very invidious malevolent diminution of their glory for such a man to pass them over wholly in silence, it were just or prudential in him to do so. However I have avoided the two extreams. I have not been wholly silent as to such matters: nor have I given but a very few of them. Besides, I do not interpose a syllable of my own judgment. Though I would nevertheless be as free either to assent or dissent, or even to suspend as any other upon sufficient ground. But enough of this:

and,

and, together with it, of all I intended to give in the ſecond Point.

35. The third is an Appendix to what has been hitherto ſaid of the perſonal piety of thoſe Princes. For I am now to give in order what was done partly by ſome of the very ſame partly by other *Iriſh* Kings, Princes, Lords, as well to reform the Commonwealth, regulate the Church, reſtore Learning to the Nation, as to promote Chriſtian religious piety among all their Subjects no leſs than in themſelves. And all this, I mean acted by them after the general calamity of the *Daniſh* Wars: yea and acted by them notwithſtanding their own ſo frequent relapſes at this very time into their old Feuds again.

Brian Boraimh, ſo often mention'd, but never enough praiſed, muſt be the firſt Inſtance in this place. He ſet all men free from the exactions of the *Danes*. All the ſpoils gained by him from the *Danes*, he beſtow'd on others. All the Lands and Territories of the Kingdom he reſtor'd to the ancient Proprietors and lawful Heirs; not retaining to himſelf or any Relations one foot of Land belonging to others. He conferr'd on each Temporal Lord great Priviledges and Immunities, according to his degree. He reſtored to each Biſhop his own Dioceſs, to each Prieſt his Church throughout *Ireland*. He founded, built, endow'd many Churches,

Schools, Colledges: and with Royal munificence, care, ſolicitude gave a new beginning again to the deſtroy'd Univerſities. He beſtow'd on every perſon that would learn, money to bear his charges competently. He built at his own proper coſt the Cathedral of *Cill-da-Luagh*, the Church of *Inis Cealtrach*, and re-edified the Steeple of *Tuaim-Ghreine*. He built many Bridges, made many Cauſeys, mended many High ways before not paſſable. He erected many new Forts, ſtrengthened the old ones with new Bulwarks, and in particular fortified *Caſhel* the uſual manſion of the *Mounſter* Kings. He re-edified all the Royal Houſes or Palaces in *Mounſter*, that before his time had been either utterly ruin'd or wholly neglected, in particular thirteen of them. His Government was ſo rigid that under it a young Woman travail'd all alone from *Toruidh* to *Cliodhna*, the length of *Ireland*, with a gold Ring hanging on the top of a Wand in her hand, without meeting any that attempted to rob or raviſh her. Beſides he enter'd not on the Sovereignty by murdering or killing his Predeceſſor, as ſo many others did, who nevertheleſs were not tax'd with Uſurpation, becauſe of their deſcent from the Royal Line: and yet *Brian* was undoubtedly of the Line from *Heber*. Moreover, he was gloriouſly magnificent in his Port. No man could

could carry Arms in his Court, where ever it chanc'd to be, except only *Dal-Gheaß* that were his own peculiar Guards. All the Provinces of *Ireland* every one, and some lesser Countreys too, besides the *Danes* inhabiting *Dublin* and *Limmeric*, lay under a considerable *Boraimh*, or Tax which they paid yearly for the maintenance of his House at *Ceann-Chora*, *viz.* *Conniaght* 800 Beeves, and so many Hogs. *Tirchonail* 500 Mantles and 500 Beeves. *Tir-Eoghuin* 600 Beeves, 600 Hogs, and 60 Tun of Iron. *Clanna Ruidhruidh* in *Ulster* 150 Beeves, and so many Hogs. *Oirghillaibh* 800 Beeves. *Leinster* 300 Beeves, 300 Hogs, and 300 Tuns of Iron. *Ossory* 60 Beeves, 60 Hogs, and 60 Tuns of Iron. *Danes* of *Dublin* 300 Pipes or Buts of Wine. *Danes* of *Limmerick* a Tun of Claret for every day in the Year, (what *Mounster* paid, I do not find.) In short, his Hospitality at *Ceann-Chora*, in every degree was such, that excepting the Monarchs *Cormock mhac Airt*, and *Conair mor mhac Eidrisgeoil*, no other King of *Ireland* ever did an near it.

Maolseachlainn II. in his Second Reign, especially towards the middle of it, when he gave himself to Devotion and thoughts of an other life, did as well in good Government and care of the Publick, as in Piety shew himself both a great and good King. He re-

edified many Schools, repair'd many Churches, maintain'd 300 Scholars out of his own Revenue, laid the foundation of S. *Mary* Abbey in *Dublin*, built and endow'd it, *An.* 1039. * the very first Abbey we read of built in *Ireland* since the universal destruction by the *Danes*.

* *Understand this according to* Ketings *Computation, that gives* Clancarr Battel, *fought on the* 16*th of* April 1036. *but not according to* Grarianus Lucius *or others that deliver it fought earlier by* 20 *years, viz. Anno* 1014.

For the Monarch *Toirghiallach mhac Teaidhg mhic Brian Boraimh*, that he was not only a good man, but excellent King you may read in *Lucius* very convincing Arguments; 1. That during his twelve years Reign, there was none oppos'd his person, nor any that call'd in question his Title, none drew Sword nor lift up an armed Hand against him. 2. That he never enacted one farthing, never any kind of *Boraimh* or Tax of the Provinces, yet was abundantly furnish'd by them all along with all kind of necessaries to support his Regal dignity. 3. That he made very good, wholsome, convenieent Laws for his People. 4. That *Lanfrancus*, then Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, loved him entirely; remembred him still in his Prayers: did all the good Offices he could to his Friends; calls him tacitly a lover of Justice;

Justice: and then expresly adds, *Magnam misericordiam populis Hiberniæ tunc divinitus collatam, quando omnipotens Deus Terdelacho magnifico Hiberniæ Regi jus Regiæ potestatis super illam terram concessit*, That Almighty God had then shewed great mercy to the people of *Ireland* when he gave the Royal power of that Land to the magnificent King *Toirrghiallach*. The Letters of *Lanfrancus*, containing these Elogies of him are quoted by *Lucius*, page 83.

Muirchiortach O Brien, son to the said *Toirrgiallach*, made a much further progress in restoring the Commonwealth, and both endowing and reforming the Church. In the first year of his Reign, which was the year of Christ 1106. he alienated th City of *Cashel* from the *Maunster* Kings, and to the honour of God and of St. *Patrick* bestow'd it for ever (*in puram eleemosynam*) by way of pure Alms on the Bishops See there, says *Keting*. In his Reign also, not only a Parliament of all the Estates in *Ireland* * was held at *Fiadh-mhac-Naonghussa*, but (as *Gratianus Lucius* has it) even three several Synods, representing the whole Clergy of that Nation were conven'd at three divers places. One of them at *Usneach* in *Meath*, conven'd *Anno* 1106, as *Lucius* expresly says; telling

* *See* Waræus *in his Commen.* de Præsul. Hib. p. 12. *in* Celsus.

us withal, that in this Council *Gillaſpuic* (whom he calls in Latin *Gilbertus*) Abbot of *Beannchuir*, Biſhop of *Limmeric*, and Legat for the Pope was Preſident: and that in all, it conſiſted of fifty Biſhops; whereof the ſaid Preſident was the firſt, *Celſus* (in Iriſh *Ceallach*) ſucceſſor to St. *Patrick* at *Ardmagh* the ſecond, and *Maolmuire Huadanain* Arch-biſhop of *Mounſter* the third: beſides three hundred Prieſts and three thouſand other Eccleſiaſticks preſent. Another of them was held at the foreſaid *Fiadh-mhac Naonghuſſa*, then (if I underſtand *Keting* aright) when all the Eſtates were aſſembled there. And though I cannot ſay for certain what Year that was, I may nevertheleſs aſſure you that *Keting* ſays the Repreſentatives or Members of this Synod were only the ſucceſſor of that *Patrick* at *Ardmagh* (for he does not otherwiſe name him) and *Maolmuire O Dunain* the Archbiſhop of *Mounſter*, and eight Biſhops more; beſides 360 Prieſts, 140 Deacons, and other Miniſters not numbred, that were preſent. But for the Acts of this Council we need not be inquiſitive, ſince the ſame *Keting* has plainly told us they are loſt. And ſo might *Lucius*, for ought I can ſee, have told us of thoſe made at *Uſneach*: for it is he, and not *Keting*, that has

Waræus *out of the Annals of* Ulſter *ſays it was held*, Anno 1111.

has obſerv'd that Synod. The third, which both of them equally mention, has been a memorable one indeed, and the chief Acts of it, preſerv'd to Poſterity, are at large in *Keting*. It was held at *Rath Breſſail*, Anno 1110. under the preſidency of the foreſaid *Gillaſpuic* Biſhop of *Limmeric* as the Pope's Legat. The number of Biſhops conven'd, I do not find. But I ſee clearly enough, their main buſineſs was to reduce the number of Biſhops in the whole Iſland: and to aſſign to each Biſhop his own peculiar Dioceſs, with the meers and bounds thereof, partly (as I ſuppoſe) to prevent diſputes about Juriſdiction, and partly that the Flock might be the more carefully obſerv'd. They did both ſucceſsfully. And for the number they ordered it ſhould be ſix and twenty in all: twelve of them in *Leath Cuinn*, and twelve in *Leath Mogh*, and two in *Meath*. Of the twelve in *Leath-Cuinn*, ſix were in the Province of *Ulſter*, and *Ardmagh* one of the ſix, the reſt in *Connaght*: of the other twelve for *Leath-Mogh*, ſeven were appointed for the two diviſions of *Mounſter*, and five for *Leinſter*. He of *Dublin* was not mention'd amongſt them, nor indeed at all, as receiving then his conſecration from *Canterbury*. But *Gleann-da Loch*, now united to it, was one of the Five for *Leinſter*. All the other Sees alſo they named; whereof ſome

are

are different from those we know at present. And so did they name, in the very Acts of the same Council, the peculiar Meers of each Bishoprick, all round about every where throughout the whole Kingdom. The Annals of *Inis Fail*, as *Lucius* quotes 'em, say this Synod (or rather perhaps the General Assembly consisting as well of the Lay Estates, as of *Ecclesiastical* sitting in the same Place) made better Laws than *Ireland* ever had before at any time. Among which *Keting* sets down one special Act for the plenary Exemption of the Church for ever from all Taxes, Impositions, Burthens, Duties, &c. impos'd on 'em by the secular Power. Another also for every Bishop's consecrating at *Easter*, the *Oyl* of *holy Unction*. After which concluding his whole account, of this National Synod, he adds how the Fathers assembled therein, had in the end of all their Acts, bless'd the Observers and curs'd the Transgressors of them, in this form: "The "blessing of God Almighty, and of S. *Peter*, and "S. *Patrick*, and of the Representer of S. *Peter's* "Successor, the Legat *Giolla-Aspuick* Bishop of "*Limmerick*, and of *Ceallach* S. *Patrick's* successor, "Primat of *Ireland*, and of *Maoil-Josa mhac Ain-* "*mhire* Arch-bishop of *Cashel*, and of all the Bi- "shops, Gentry and Clergy in this holy Synod "of *Rath-Breassuil* light and remain upon eve- "ry one that shall approve, ratifie and observe

"these

" theſe Ordinances. And, of the other ſide, their " Curſes on the Infringers of 'em.

Gratianus Lucius (in his *Cambr. Everſ.* page 83.) is of opinion, and his reaſons for it can hardly be gainſay'd, that theſe, which are called *three National Synods*, were but one and the ſelf-ſame Council, continued from time to time, and finiſh'd in three ſeveral Seſſions, and Places, *viz.* One Seſſion at *Viſneach*, another at *Fiadha-mhac-Naonghuſſa*, and the Laſt of 'em at *Rath-Breſſail*. But if you enquire what ſhould bring to this Council ſuch a vaſt conflux of Eccleſiaſticks, as (beſides all the Biſhops, whoſe duty it was to be there) three hundred Prieſts and 3000 other Churchmen: I for my part, can gueſs at no other cauſe than one of Three, or all Three together. 1. The Novelty, or at leaſt Rarity of a National Synod in that Kingdom. I am ſure *Keting* in all his Hiſtory has not any Inſtance of a National Synod of the *Iriſh Church* not even from the beginning of it; before that of *Fiadh-mhac-Naonghuſſa*. 2. The Fame of ſo great a Reformation of the Sacerdotal Order and ſtate Eccleſiaſtical, intended by the reducing the number of Biſhops, and bounding their Dioceſſes, might have drawn many to come thither. 3. The Temporal Eſtates of the whole Kingdom, ſitting at the Place and Time, queſtionleſs occaſion'd the coming of many more Eccleſiaſticks to that Council than perhaps otherwiſe would have come. What

What I would principally observe by occasion of that Synod at *Rath-Bressail* is, first, how short this number of 26 Bishops in all *Ireland* comes of that other of 350 Bishops related before *page* 56. out of *Nennius* and *Jocelin* to have been consecrated by St. *Patrick* in his time for that Countrey. But it may be said, that was a time of labouring in the conversion of every part of that Kingdom, and its Dominions abroad in *Scotland* and other adjacent Islands. To which purpose it was expedient there should be a very great number of Bishops, according to the greatness of the Harvest, which was all (at least as to *Ireland* at home) made up in 35 years. Besides, that in 61 or 62 years, the long term of Saint *Patrick*'s life after he had enter'd on that Harvest, e'en so many hundred Bishops as are mention'd by the said Authors, might have died in *Ireland* and the adjacent Islands, tho never the fifth or sixth part of them had lived together in any one time. And yet I must confess, there was in later times, and even but a little before this Council, a most corrupt custom in *Ireland*, that multiplyed Bishops *pro libitu Metropolitani*, at the sole Metropolitans pleasure, as we shall see hereafter, and whence that corruption, with many other, proceeded. However, to return to my main purpose. *Muirchiortach O'Brien* King of *Ireland*

land (whether alone, or in association with *Domhnal* the ſon of *Ardghal*, enjoying that Title) was ſo happy as to have by his Royal Authority concurr'd unto, compaſs'd, and confirm'd this material point of Reformation and eſtabliſhment of the State Eccleſiaſtical.

His next Succeſſor, *Toirrghiallach Mor O Connor*, notwithſtanding all his Wars did manifeſt his care of the Publick both in civil and Eccleſiaſtical affairs. He built the three chief Bridges of *Connaght*; among which that of *Athlone* was. He had the Cathedral of *Tuam* ſolemnly conſecrated by a number of Biſhops call'd thither of purpoſe. He built a Hoſpital in the ſame Town, and endow'd it with Lands. He ſetled a yearly Penſion for a Divinity Profeſſor at *Ardmagh*. He was ſo juſtly ſevere in puniſhing Criminals, that having impriſon'd his own ſon for ſome great Offence, and rejected for a long time the interceſſion of ſeveral both Princes and Prelats, he could hardly at laſt be induced even by five hundred Prieſts and eleven Biſhops together with the Archbiſhops of *Ardmagh* and *Caſhel* appearing before him and interceding for the Priſoner, to ſet him at liberty after a twelve months impriſonment. Of his piety, beſides what I have ſaid already, theſe are further proofs given by *Lucius* I.

That

That he caus'd the *Holy Croß* to be carried about *Ireland* in great veneration. 2. That he beſtowed great ſcopes of Land on the Clergy of *Tuam:* on the Succeſſor of Saint *Coman* a Town: and on the Biſhop of *Cluain-mhac-Noiſe* a number of Silver Croſſes, Goblets, and Chalices. And 3. That by his laſt Will he bequeath'd to ſeveral Churches all the coſtly furniture of his Houſes; all his Gold and ſilver Plate; all his Jewels; all his Horſes and Arms, even his very Bow and Quiver; beſides 540 ounces of Gold, and 40 marks of Silver.

His immediate Follower in the Sovereignty *Muirchiortach mhac Neill* was pleas'd himſelf in perſon, together with all the Kings and Nobles of the whole Kingdom to be preſent in the National Synod of that Church held at *Ceannannais* (we call it now *Kells*) in *Meath*, in the firſt year of his Reign, which was of *Chriſt* 1152. This Council begun the 7th of *March*, being *Dominica Lætare Hieruſalem*, had members of it preſent ſeven and twenty Biſhops, and as many more Abbots and Priors; the Archbiſhops of *Ardmagh* and *Caſhel*, and the Biſhop of *Dublin*, beſides five elect, being of the number of thoſe 27 Biſhops. It was in this Council that *John Papiron*, Cardinal of St. *Laurence in Damaſco*, ſent by Pope *Eugenius* III. preſided. In this Council

Council that he by the Authority of the Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul*, and the Apoſtolical Lord *Eugenius* condemned Simony, execrated Uſury, enjoyn'd the payment of Tithes. In this Council, beſides that he deliver'd the 4 Palls to the 4 Archbiſhops, *Ardmagh*, *Caſhel*, *Tuam*, *Dublin*. Moreover it was in this Council that he ordain'd, as it was fit, that *Ardmagh* ſhould be Primat over all. And theſe things being done by him, without further delay he departed, and on the Ninth of the Calends of *May* the ſame Year ſhip'd for beyond Seas. So *Keting* writes of him and this Council, out of the Annals of *Cluain Eidhnioch Fiontain* in *Leaſe*: where he tranſcribes the very *Latin* words of thoſe Annals. Tho according to an other account of his own, *Giolla Crioſt* (or *Chriſtianus*) *O Conneric* Biſhop of *Liſmore* Provincial of all the Monks in *Ireland*, and Legat in ordinary from the Pope in that Kingdom preſided in this Council jointly with the ſaid Cardinal. But what is more obſervable in thoſe Annals is, That as to the 4 Palls moſt of the Clergy in this Council, and eſpecially thoſe of *Dun-da-Leath-Ghlaſs* and *Ardmach* were diſſenting: becauſe they held it enough for *Ireland* to have two Archbiſhops, the one at *Ardmach*, the other in *Mounſter*, as formerly. The reſt concerning this Council, and particular names and

ſurnames

ſurnames of thoſe two and twenty Biſhops that according to his account compoſed it (for he leaves out the five Elect, and all the Abbots and Priors) you may read in him. I think it needleſs to tranſcribe them here.

And yet I judg it not impertinent on this occaſion to mind the Reader of *Meredith Hanmer*'s groſs miſtake; where, in his Hiſtory of *Ireland*, he ſays 1. That before this time or Council of *Ceannannais*, the *Iriſh* had never had any Archbiſhops. 2. That ever ſince *Auſtin* the Monks time (or his miſſion to *England* from *Gregory* the *Great*) the *Iriſh* Clergy till this time had been ſubject to the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*. Whereas in truth they had all along from St. *Patrick*'s time, and by his own ſpecial appointment too, even two Archbiſhops: the one ſtiled of *Ardmach*; the other of *Mounſter* firſt, then of *Caſhel*, after he came to have his fixed See there: the one for *Leath-Cuinn*, and the other of *Leath-Mogha*. Whereof you may ſee more at large in *Keting*; who in his Reign of *Laogirius* tells the very motive and chief inducement St. *Patrick* had for making the ſecond chief Archiepiſcopal See, and conſtituting it in *Mounſter*. Nay I have my ſelf read in ſome of the Saints of *Irelands* Lives (though I have not them by me now to quote them) mention made of the Archbiſhop of the *Lagenians*, and his See being

being ſometimes *Kildare*, ſometimes *Ferns*: and ſo I have of the Archbiſhop of the *Conacians* too, if my memory fail me not. But if it do, Sir *James Ware* in his Commentary *de Præſulibus Hiberniæ* ſupplies it abundantly, *page* 174. concerning *Mounſter*: and *pag.* 243. and 244. concerning *Connaght*. What Authority or Juriſdiction theſe Archbiſhops had in thoſe days of old, is an other queſtion: or whether they had any more than only to be *Epiſcopi primæ ſedis* in their Province? or priority of place? I can ſay nothing to it. But in this I can be on rational grounds poſitive, That none of the *Iriſh* Clergy depended on the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, none of their Biſhops received conſecration from any of them, until *Lanfranæus* in *William* the *Conquerors* time, was the Archbiſhop of that See. Nor then, nor after neither, but for ſome little time thoſe only of *Dublin*, *Wexford*, *Waterford* and *Limmeric*. And the reaſon why theſe in particular would or did ſo depend was, That their Townſmen and ſubordinate peculiar Governors were *Danes* or *Eaſterlings*, now turn'd Chriſtians. And that they ſuſpected the *Iriſh* Prelats would not favourably judg or determine of their Elections in behalf of their own Citizens, blood, or Countreymen to Eccleſiaſtical Offices; but by reaſon at leaſt of the former Feuds, if not thoſe

preſent and remaining ſtill would prefer *Iriſh* to them. And therefore, and further yet becauſe they expected in that behalf impartial dealing and juſtice, if not favour too, from the See of *Canterbury*, as being of late brought under the *Norman* Conquerors, originally their own Countreymen, they procured Licenſe from the *Iriſh* Kings to have their Biſhops conſecrated by the Archbiſhops of that See. whereby it happened, that ſo lately as the Reign of the Monarch *Toirrghiallach*, Grandchild to *Brien Boraimh*, in the Year of Chriſt 1098. the firſt Biſhop of *Waterford* was conſecrated by *Anſelmus* of *Canterbury*. So ſays *Keting*; and much more *Lucius*; and moſt of all on this Subject the moſt eminently famous Primat *Uſher*, who was both concern'd for his own See of *Ardmagh*, and without queſtion able enough to ſearch into theſe matters. To him may be added Sir *James Ware*, pag. 102. 103, and 104. where he tells us of *Patric*, *Donatus O Haingly*, *Samuel O Haingly* and *Gregory*, four Biſhops elected ſucceſſively by the *Ooſtmans* of *Dublin*, and and conſecrated for that See by the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, *Lanfrancus*, *Anſelmus*, and *Rudolphus*; but no more: for the next Biſhop of *Dublin* was conſecrated by *Ardmagh*.

Having

Having thus reflected on thoſe Errors of *Hanmer*, I have no more to ſay in relation to the Council of *Ceannannais*, but that all the advantage, benefit, glory redounding from it to the *Iriſh Church*, ought queſtionleſs to be attributed chiefly to the foreſaid King and Monarch of Ireland *Muirchiortach mhac Neill*, that rendred it both much more auguſt by his own Royal preſence, and much more effectual by his perfect ſubmiſſion to all its Decrees.

A further ſtrong argument of great reſolutions taken by many of the Kings, Princes, Nobles, Eccleſiaſticks of *Ireland* to reſtore civility, juſtice, learning; and, above all, Piety and holineſs of Life, once more among their Countreymen, was the great number of Monaſteries built and endow'd by them within the very laſt eighty years of their *Mileſian* Government before the final period of it. Yea and built by them, I mean, notwithſtanding all the diſadvantages of that time, eſpecially of that part of it which was taken up by the extraordinary turbulencies happen'd in *Ruaruidh O Connor*'s Reign. Who, as we have ſeen before, ſucceeded this *Muirchiortach mhac Neill*, and was himſelf never ſince by any of his Countrey or Nation ſucceeded.

In the Province of *Ulſter*, *Anno* 1106 the Monaſtery of *Liſgoual* near *Loch Erne*, and the Abbey of *Carrig*, whoſe firſt Abbot was St. *Euodius*, were founded by *Mac-Noellus Mackenlef* King of *Ulſter*. *Anno* 1138. an other for the *Canons* Regular of St. *Auſtin* in *Feramanach*. The ſame Year, an other in *Louth* for the ſame order by *Donogh mhac Ceirrbheoil* King of *Orghillae*. And by him, at the requeſt of St. *Malachias*, the noble Abbey of *Mellifont* for the *Ciſtercians* Anno 1142. The Abbey of *Jonmhair Chinne Traigh*, alias *Newry*, by *Malachias* himſelf; beſides the celebrated *Beannchuir* reſtor'd by him. About this time alſo, the *younger O Domhnel*, as he is call'd, Prince of *Tirconnel*, at the requeſt of St. *Dominick* by Letters to him, built for his Order a Monaſtery at *Doire Cholum Cille*, which had uſually a hundred and fifty religious men. In the Province of *Mounſter*, not only the Abbey of *O Dorne*, in the County of *Kierry*, the Abbey of *Fermoigh* in the County of *Cork*, *Anno* 1140. and the Abbey of *Neny* or *Magio Anno* 1148 or 1151, all three for the *Ciſtercian* Order; but eighteen Monaſteries founded by *Domhnal O Brien* the laſt King of *North-Mounſter*. Among theſe were the famous Abbey of *Holy Croſs* at *Tipperary*, and St. *Peters* at *Limmeric* for the black Nuns of St. *Auſtin*, and the Monaſtery *de Surio*,

Surio, and that call'd *Killoulenſe*, or *de Albo campo*, and the other *Kilmonienſe*, or *de Furgio*, and lately the Cloiſter of *Corcamina*, or of the *fruitful Rock*. In the Province of *Leinſter Diarmuid mhac Murcho*, (ſurnamed *Na Ngall*) the laſt King of it, founded ſix Monaſteries: Two of them at *Dublin*; whereof one was for Nuns of the Order (or rather Reformation) of *Aroaſia*; the other for Chanons of St. *Auſtin*: a third in the County of *Kilkenny* at *Kilclehin*, a fourth at *Atoody* in the County of *Catherlach*: the fifth being a great noble Abbey for the *Ciſtercians* (by them named *de Valle Salutis*) at *Baltinglaß* in the County of *Wicklo*: and the ſixth at *Ferns* in the County of *Wexford*. But *Monaſter-Euin*, or *de rubra Valle* for the ſame *Ciſtercian* Order, was founded by *Diarmuid O Daoimuſe*, alias *Dempſy*, Lord (or at leaſt one of the Lords) of *Ibh Failghe*, Anno 1178. *Jeripont* Abby in the County of *Kilkenny*, Anno 1181. by *Donald Fitz Patric* King of *Oſſory*. The Monaſtery of *Leaſe*, or *de Lege Dei*, An. 1183. by *Cuchogrius O Moadhirra*. The Monaſtery of *Dune* in the County of *Wexford*, even before the landing of *Fitz Stephens* there, by *Diarmuid O Ryan* by conſent of the *Leinſter* King, founded for the Chanons

Aroaſia *in an Abbey of Monks in* Artois.

of St. *Auſtin.* In the Province of *Connaght*, before it was conquered hy the *Engliſh*, *Cathal O Conchabhair*, ſurnamed *Crombhdhearg*, founded the Monaſtery of *Benedictin* Nuns at *Killereunath*, the Monaſtery of *Cnockmoigh*, or *de Colle Victoriæ*, for the *Ciſtercians*; that of *Ballin Tobair* for the *Chanons* of St. *Auguſtin:* and not only endow'd but enrich'd them all with large poſſeſſions. Add the Monaſtery of *Boyle*, about the Year 1151, founded for the *Ciſtercian* Order. Laſtly, in *Meath*, the King or Prince of it, *Murcho O Mleaghluinn* founded the Monaſtery of *Beclif* (alias *de Beatitudine*) either *Anno* 1148. or 1151. for the *Ciſtercians:* likewiſe for the *Votreſſes* of Saint *Auguſtin*, or he or ſome other *O Mlaghlin*, King of that Countrey built the Cloiſter at *Clonard.* But the Cloiſter of *Shrouil*, in the County of *Longford*, *ad Euium Fluvium*, had its beginning, *Anno* 1152.

Such is the account I find moſtly in *Lucius*, and for ſome part in *Keting*, of the endeavours uſed in thoſe later times by ſeveral *Iriſh* Princes and Prelats to repair in ſome degree the general deſtruction brought upon their Schools of Learning and Piety, and upon all that was excellent or civil in their Nation, by the long *Daniſh* Wars, and their own inteſtin broils immediately following. Queſtionleſs they reputed Monaſteries as (and as

as indeed they were in that Age among them in *Ireland*) the beſt Schools of Learning and Religion: ſo the beſt means to civilize a Chriſtian People much over-run with ignorance, barbariſm, and wildneſs, and fierceneſs too of Nature; which two or three hundred years continual War in the very entrails of their Countrey, for the moſt part with Heathen Foreigners, and for the reſt with the Natives themſelves, one againſt another, muſt of neceſſity have brought with it.

The fourth Point is to let you know, that in this very decrepit Age and final wane of the *Iriſh* Monarchy, Heaven was yet ſo propitious to them, as to raiſe among them in the Eccleſiaſtical State ſome, (however few) even as wonderfully eminently Saints peradventure as were in the primitive Ages of Chriſtianity in that Kingdom. For to ſay nothing now of thoſe other excellent Biſhops of this time, *Ceallach* or *Celſus* of *Ardmagh*, *Gillaſpuick*, alias *Gilbertus* of *Limmerick*, *Malchus* of *Liſmore*, and *Giolla-Criſt* (or *Chriſtianus*) of *Clocher*, though St. *Bernard* himſelf beſides what he has of the reſt, eſpecially of *Malchus*, calls this *Chriſtian, a good man, full of grace and vertue, inferiour indeed to his Brother* (he means *Malachias*) *in celebrity of Fame, but peradventure not ſo in ſanctity of Life and Zeal of Juſtice*: however, to paſs

over I ſay, all theſe four excellent Prelats of this time: thoſe I mean at preſent were eſpecially two other holy Monks, and they extraordinary Biſhops too, one after an other.

The former of them was *Malachias* (in Iriſh *Maolmo*, ſays *Keting*) or at leaſt my Copy of him, but *Malmedoic O Morgair*, ſays *Waræus*) a *burning and ſhining Light* indeed: as Saint *Bernard* applies to him what our Saviour Chriſt did ſay of Saint *John Baptiſt*. He was born an *Ulſter* man of noble Parents, in the year of our Lord 1094. died in the 54 of his own Age, being the year of our Lord 1148. and therefore lived under ſome part of *Donachadh mhac Brien Boraimh's* reign, and the whole Reigns of his three Succeſſors, even till the beginning of *Muirchiortach mhac Neill's* reign, the laſt *Iriſh* Monarch ſaving one. That is, he lived in a great part of thoſe very times when almoſt the whole face of the *Iriſh* Church was moſt woſully deformed, ulcer'd, horrible to be ſeen. In moſt places all kind of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, all the Canons of the Church trodden under foot: in many other all the very Sacraments of Chriſt not only neglected, but of no uſe at all. Nor muſt we much wonder at it, if we conſider that the very Head of the Eccleſiaſtical Order in *Ireland*, the

the See of *Ardmagh* had in thoſe days been as a meer lay Fee or Temporal Inheritance poſſeſs'd by ſtrong hand of one powerful Family, even for fifteen Generations ſucceſſively, *i. e.* ever ſince the expulſion of the *Danes*, almoſt two hundred years, out of that Province. That beſides, although ſometimes there was not one Clerk in this Family, yet they never wanted a Biſhop. And thirdly, that before *Cealiach* (whom we call *Celſus*, the immediat, but virtuous good Predeceſſor of *Malachias*) eight married men, without any Orders, though not without Learning, had been the only Biſhops of that Metropolitan See. *Hence throughout all* Ireland, *that diſſolution of the Churches diſcipline, enervation of her Cenſures, evacuation of Religion, whereof we have ſpoken before*, ſays the Melliſluous D. S. *Bernard* in the Life of *Malachias* cap. vii. *For what has never been elſewhere, not even ſince the very beginning of Chriſtianity heard, was now in* Ireland *to be ſeen. Biſhops without Ordination, without reaſon multiplied at the luſt of the Metropolitan. Inſomuch that one Biſhoprick was not content with one Biſhop; but almoſt every Church in it had a peculiar Biſhop. And indeed how was it likely to be otherwiſe? or that under ſo diſeaſed, ſo corrupt a Head, the Members could be ſound?*

To

To reform these horrible corruptions of the *Irish* Church, God it seems had in his secret counsels design'd *Malachias* to be the man. First by his Birth of noble Parents hard by *Ardmagh*, and his being the only beloved Son of such a Family. Then by his contemning in his tender years, even from his childhood at School in that City, whatever seem'd worldly or vain: and his giving himself on all occasions, especially in all secret recesses, to prayer. Then by his accoasting, admiring, and delivering himself very early in his Youth to *Imarius* the holy Anchorite, who had by his own choice many long years before been shut up perpetually, and as it were buried alive in a little Cell that join'd to the Wall of the Cathedral Church. Then by the multitude of other young delicate striplings, that surmounting all considerations of flesh, and bloud, and sense, and what ever seem'd gay or pleasant to the eye, soon after follow'd his example. Then by the holy Spirit's moving not only the good Archbishop *Celsus*, but *Imarius* also to force him in a manner to the Order of *Deaconship* before he was 25 years old, and to that of *Priesthood*, so soon as he was 25 compleat: they (as they might well) supposing that the sanctity of his conversation did abundantly supply the defect of his Canonical Age for

for theſe Orders. Then by the further injunction laid upon him immediately by *Celſus*, making him notwithſtanding his Youth, *Vicar General* of the Dioceſs. Then by the tenour of his Life and power of his Word piercing like a two edged Sword the very entrails of all that heard him preach, and like a *burning Torch* enflaming them; as the Son of *Syrach* ſpeaks of *Elias* the Prophet's Word. Then by his departing, but with the licence of *Celſus* and *Imarius*, for ſome years to *Liſmore* in *Mounſter*, and putting himſelf there in a Monaſtery under the diſcipline of *Malchus* the holy miraculous Biſhop of that See, who had been himſelf, though an *Iriſh* man by birth, educated in the Abbey of *Winchester* in *England*. Then by occaſion of King *Cormack*'s retirement from his Enemies to the ſaid Monaſtery: where this afflicted Prince making it his choice to live in a poor narrow cell, feed on bread and a little ſalt, drink nothing but water, bath his body once every day in cold water to extinguiſh the rebellion of his fleſh; do all this by the direction of *Malachias*, his only Inſtructor and comforter; yea and continue it until at laſt he rather ſuffer'd than deſired himſelf to be reſtor'd, his Enemies flying away before his face every where: by this occaſion I ſay, the hidden things of *Malachias* came to be known,

and

and his name celebrated among all the Clergy and People and Princes of that Province too. Then by his returning back to his own Province of *Ulster*, upon the commands of *Celsus* and *Imarius*: and there presently repairing the old ruins of the famous *Beannchuir*; which till this time lay in rubbish for so many years ever since the destruction of it by the *Danes*, though not without a Titular Lay-Abbot (made still by Election of the Lay-Natives) who possess'd all the Revenues; nor at this very time neither without such an Incumbent, and he both a very powerful man, and Uncle also to *Malachias* himself; but, on the return of *Malachias* from *Mounster*, suddenly chang'd, and as it were by a powerful touch of the very finger of God himself so mightily chang'd, that without delay he resign'd both the place and whole Estate belonging to it, yea and his own person also to this holy Nephew's disposition. Then by his refusing the Estate, building nevertheless the place, planting it with some of his own blessed condisciples under *Imarius*, and in obedience to *Celsus* and *Imarius* both, taking upon him now as well the true Office as the title of *Abbot* of *Beannchuir*; imitating so in all respects the sanctity of his great Predecessor *Congellus*, though not equalling his number of Monks. Then by the

the glory of Miracles, beginning first to appear wrought by him, to the astonishment of the beholders, as he was at work with his own hands among the Carpenters that were building this Monastery. Then by the Election made of him in the thirtieth year of his Age for the See of *Conner*, and his reluctance for a long time; and the perseverance of the other side, and his submission at last to the positive commands of *Celsus* and *Imarius*. Then by his entring upon his Episcopal Function there, but withal, his finding presently, as St. *Bernard* expresly writes, *He was not sent to men, but Beasts.* That *he had never before, not even amongst the most barbarous any where, observ'd the like. No where the People so stubborn as to Manners, so bestial as to Rites, so impious as to Faith, so barbarous as to Laws, so headstrong as to Discipline, so filthy as to Life; Christians by Name, but in very deed Pagans: not paying Tithes, not offering Firstfruits, not joyning in lawful Marriages, not confessing their sins. None among them found either to receive or to enjoin penance. The Ministers of the Altar few; and yet no work among the Laity for those same few: no opportunity given them to make use of their Ministery among a wicked generation of people: nor they endeavouring it much, if not rather scarce any way at all: for in their Churches the voice neither of a Preacher nor Singer was heard.* Then

Then by his Divine Sermons, Exhortations, Entreaties, Visits, Prayers, Tears, Mortification, austerity of Life both in publick and private, together with the assistance of his 150 Monks that were never from his side; overcoming though with great labour, yet in a little time all opposition, and working so wonderful either a conversion or Reformation (which you please to call it) of all that Diocess, that they are all now become a new people, *i. e.* the People of God now, who had been nothing less before: and every where now to be seen the repairing of Churches, adorning of Altars; and Choires resounding now the praises of God: and wicked Laws abolish'd, and Christian Institutions receiv'd in their place: the Churches thronging from every side with people greedy of hearing the Word: and Sacraments frequented, and confession of sins made, and Concubinage yielding to lawful marriage.

Then by his necessary migration to *Mounster*, when the King of *Ulster* had on some pretence destroy'd the City of *Conner*: and by the reception he found there from his former Disciple King *Cormac*, who came to meet him now, and withal to entertain both him and his 150 Monks of *Beannchuir*, come along with him out of the *North*. Then by his building here in *Mounster* the Abbey of *Ibrac* (*Monasterium*

ſterium Ibracenſe, St. *Bernard* calls it) King *Cormac* with Royal munificence abundantly furniſhing Gold and Silver, and all other neceſſaries both to finiſh the building and maintain the Convent after. Then by his living there ſo exemplarily, mortifiedly, humbly among them, as he had elſewhere perpetually, even from the firſt day of his Epiſcopal Charge at *Conner*, done; taking his turn like an other Monk both in reading and ſerving in the Refectory at meals; yea in all the very meaneſt Offices of the Cloiſter; even that of Cook, to dreſs their meat in the Kitchin, not excepted.

Then by the laſt ſickneſs of *Celſus* (who had ſucceſſively ordain'd him Deacon, Prieſt, and Biſhop) and by the choice made by him of *Malachias* for his Succeſſor; and his Letters to all the Princes of the Kingdom, eſpecially the two *Mounſter* Kings, * to ſee after his death *Malachias* inſtall'd in the Metropolitical See of *Ardmagh*. Which for the memory of their great Apoſtle St. *Patrick*, who living govern'd it, and dying choſe it for his place of reſt, was held in ſuch veneration, that all

* Cormack *was one of them, his Kingdom* South-Mounſter, *his name and ſurname* Cormack mhac Cartha; *his end by a foul murther committed on him by his own Son in Law. All which, and the revenge of this murder you may ſee in the former edition*, page 183.

all the people of *Ireland*, Clergy and Laiety, Nobles, Biſhops, Princes and Kings were ſubject in all obedience to the Metropolitan thereof. Then by the Viſion about this time (but before any notice had of *Ceallach*'s being ſick) the Viſion I ſay of a Tall, ancient, venerable Woman appearing to *Malachias*: and, upon his demand what ſhe was, anſwering him, ſhe was the Wife of *Celſus*; but withal delivering him a Paſtoral Staff. Then by a real Meſſenger come from *Celſus*, as he was yet on his death bed alive, with his real Staff indeed, and by the real delivery thereof by him, as he was commanded by *Celſus* to this man of God. Then by the unanimous application of all the Kingdon, from all parts, made unto him to accept of this Election: and by his declining it nevertheleſs a very long time: alledging now his own unworthineſs; now his poverty and meanneſs, and inability to contend with the powerful Family that hitherto well nigh two hundred years had poſſeſs'd that See; beſides, that not even with the death of men their ſtubbornneſs could be overcome; moreover that to ſee blood ſpilt in his behalf, or by his occaſion did not become him, or his calling; finally that he was already join'd to an other Spouſe, the Church of *Conner*.

Then

Then (after three years continual reluctance) by the National Synods meeting on purpose, wherein the Pope's Legat *Gillaspuic*, alias *Gilbertus*, Bishop of *Limmeric*, and *Malchus* Bishop of *Lismore* were the chief; and by their laying their commands upon him, adding threats withal to excommunicate him, if he resisted any longer; and his own reflecting at the same time on the Vision he had formerly had (in *Mounster*) of the grave Matron, *&c.* which frighted him above all other considerations: and by his yielding thereupon at last, but on this condition, that if, and whensoever by his means or Ministery, God were pleased to restore peace to that Metropolitan See, it should be lawful for him to ordain an other in it, and return to his former Spouse the poor Bishoprick of *Conner*.

Then by his not entring for the two next years either the Cathedral Church or City it self of *Ardmagh*, and not medling with the Revenue while the Usurper *Mauritius* lived; but officiating abroad, and discharging so his duty to the Dioceses at large, without any bloodshed or quarrel. Then, upon the death of *Mauritius*, when the King and Nobles of the Province came to introduce him, and were to that purpose together with him assembled on a Hill near the City, but without

any armed Troops, and intelligence was brought him, that hard by there lay in ambush a strong party of the malignant bloody Generation ready to fall on and kill them all, not even him nor the King himself excepted: Then, I say, by his withdrawing into a little Church hard by; putting himself to prayer, and presently obtaining of Heaven such a formidable judgment as ended all the danger and all the controversie too in a trice, nay all the hopes of that perverse Generation for ever after. Even on a sudden such a prodigious tempest of Rain, Wind, Lightning, Thunder, which as to the place and persons of the Conspirators, turn'd the day to night, commix'd all the Elements, struck dead their Captain with three other of his principal Associats, hung them up on the boughs of Trees (for so they were found next morning half burnt and stinking) dispers'd all the rest, save only three more left groveling on the ground, half burnt likewise, but some life remaining in them still: and yet no harm done by it, nor feeling of it by the King or of his company. though they stood close by that very place, and saw the storm falling on it.

Then by his entring now into the Metropolitan Church, taking the possession of it delivered him by the King, Princes, and other Nobles

Nobles of the Land: and after their departure expoſing himſelf to the continual danger both day and night impending over his head from that bloody ſacrilegious Progeny, that breath'd no more now any thing leſs than mortal revenge in behalf of their Couſin *Nigellus*, that by uſurpation and actual poſſeſſion ſucceeded *Mauritius*, till he was now compell'd to fly, but retaining nevertheleſs in his own poſſeſſion ſtill, by conveying them away in his flight, the chief holy Enſigns of that See, the *Staff of Jeſus*, and *Goſpel of St. Patrick*; which the common people held in ſuch veneration, that the poſſeſſor of them, whoever he was, they eſteemed the only true Biſhop of *Ardmagh*. Then by his overcoming with the Arms of Faith, and a Chriſtian reſolution to ſuffer Martyrdom, the arms of Fleſh and fury and rage of a great man of the foreſaid impious Tribe, who came of purpoſe to *Ardmagh* to murder him. For though the King, before his departure, had made this very man not only to give Hoſtages, but take his corporal Oath, that he would inviolably be and keep at peace with *Malachias*; yet, without regard of either, he ſoon after in a conſult of his own People determines the place, and time and manner to diſpatch him: comes thereupon with his *Aſſaſſines* to *Ardmagh*: and after Evenſong had been end-

ed in the Church ſends to *Malachias*, as deſiring on pretence of peace and friendſhip to ſpeak with him at his own Lodging. But the whole Clergy and People at Church entreat *Malachias*, beſeech him, conjure him with tears and lamentations not to go to his death. And yet *Malachias*, after ſome other words of comfort and edification, telling them it became not the Diſciple of Chriſt to fear death, immediately departs, accompanied only with three religious men reſolv'd to die with him: enters the Houſe: ſees the *Aſſaſſins* all together in the ſame Room with that great man their Leader, as they were prepared to aſſaſſinate him: and yet coming up a little nearer finds them all every one ſtrangely ſeized as with ſome panick fear appalled, aſtoniſh'd, mute, as if they had been Planet-ſtruck, as if they were unable to lift up an armed hand againſt him or any other. Nay their very Chieftain, inſtead of giving them the word, ſubmitting himſelf in all humility and obedience: and promiſing to continue both (as he did ſincerely) until his death.

Then by the ſubmiſſion likewiſe of *Nigellus*, the Pſeudo-Biſhop, and his yielding up to *Malachias* the ſacred Enſigns, which he had hitherto ſo wrongfully detain'd; but now together with them delivering alſo himſelf in all humility to the diſpoſal of *Malachias*.

Then

Then by the ſudden ceaſing of a peſtilential Diſeaſe at *Ardmagh*, ſo ſoon as *Malachias* went about the Town in Proceſſion, and pray'd God that in his mercy he would command his exterminating Angel of Juſtice to put up his bloody Fauchion and ſpare the people thence forward. Then by the dreadful Judgments fallen upon the two remaining chiefeſt, boldeſt, and moſt blaſphemouſly virulent detractors of his Name, a Man and Woman of the accurſed Race: the man's tongue rotting in his mouth, ſpitting out Worms almoſt continually for ſeven days, and together with them at laſt his miſerable Soul: the Woman turned frantick, crying out frequently that ſhe was a ſtrangling by *Malachias*, and in that wretched condition yielding up her ghoſt. Finally, by the univerſal terror fallen upon all his Enemies, conſidering now at laſt ſo many Wonders wrought in his behalf; and therefore crying one to an other now, as the *Canaanites* did of old concerning *Iſrael*, Let us fly from the Face of *Malachias*, for God fighteth for him. Tho too late indeed for that adulterous generation of Vipers, who by this time were all of them every one periſh'd: without leaving either Heir or other memory behind them, ſave only that of their having continued the ſacrilegious poſſeſſion, violation, pollution, deſtruction of

the Sanctuary of God well nigh 200 years.

And such indeed were the means, and such the degrees and order of them, by which the Almighty himself fitted, prepared, carried on, placed at last his beloved *Malachias* in that full power, which he had from the beginning design'd for him; undoubtedly of purpose to repair those lamentable ruins, reform those horrible corruptions, enlighten that universal darkness, and breath new life again into the whole Body of the *Irish* Church, that really for so many Ages before did seem, at least for the greater part of it, utterly dead.

But that which appears to me most admirable in this holy man is, that having within three years of his acceptation of the Metropolitical charge of *Ardmagh*, and but a twelve month after his instalment in the See or the Cathedral it self, humbled, nay brought to nothing all the proud Usurpers, restored the Church, extinguish'd Barbarism, reform'd every where throughout the Dioceses all degrees of People by Christian Disciplin: seeing now all in peace, and remembring his own former purpose, he ordain'd another, by name *Gilla-Josa*, alias *Gelasius*, in his own stead Bishop of *Ardmagh*; gave him possession, and notwithstanding the reluctance of others, without further delay retired to his former Spouse the poor subordinat Church of *Conner.*

ner. That becauſe he now underſtood this Biſhoprick of *Conner* had, but in later times, an other Biſhoprick, I mean that of *Down*, united to it; and becauſe himſelf upon his tranſlation to *Ardmagh* had ordained a Biſhop in *Conner:* he would neither intrude upon him, nor yet ſuffer any longer that Union made by covetouſneſs to continue; but reſtoring the ancient diviſion, aſſum'd to himſelf, *i.e.* to his own peculiar charge, the poorer and leaſt reform'd of the two the Biſhoprick of *Down.* That here again calling to his aſſiſtance and erecting a new Convent of *Regulars*, he devoted himſelf among them to his former courſe of Life, in all poverty and humility, and rigours of cenobial Diſcipline, aſſiduity of Prayer and raptures of Contemplation, ſpending all the time he could ſpare from his Paſtoral charge.

What follows next is to let you know, that he was not ſuffered long the enjoyment of himſelf in thoſe *aſcetick* exerciſes. That ere long there was an univerſal conflux of all ſorts of people to him, even from the higheſt to the very loweſt of the Land. That therefore now he finds it neceſſary, like the Husbandmen in the Goſpel, to go forth and ſow his ſeed: and now he diſpoſes with all Authority of all kind of Church affairs: and no man queſtions him, by what power he did

ſo: all being perſuaded by the ſigns and prodigies wrought by him every where, that as he had the power, ſo he had the Spirit of God to direct all his actions. That nevertheleſs himſelf after ſome time thought it fitting to take a journey to *Rome* and conſult the See Apoſtolick, as *Paul* did the Apoſtles at *Hieruſalem*, after his three years preaching of Chriſt in *Arabia*. Beſides he conſidered that the See of *Ardmagh* had never at any time had the Metropolitical Ornament, which they call *Pallium*, a word that in the Eccleſiaſtical uſe of it imports the *plenitude of honour*, ſays *Bernard*; but not the *plenitude of power*, as they ſpeak at *Rome* in this Age. Moreover, that his late Predeceſſor in the Metropolitan Church, I mean *Celſus*, had by his own authority erected another Metropolitical See elſe where in *Ireland*, though with dependence and ſubjection ſtill to the See of *Ardmagh* as the only *Primatial* or *Patriarchical* See of the Kingdom. That to obtain from the See Apoſtolick of *Rome*, as well the honour of the *Pall* for each of thoſe two *Iriſh* Metropolitan Sees, as the confirmation of what *Celſus* had done in erecting the later of them, was another chief motive of his undertaking ſuch a Journey. That having paſs'd through *Scotland* and *England*, reſted a few days with St. *Bernard* at *Claravallis* in *France*,

France, arriv'd at *Rome*, continued there for a month visiting the holy places, and conferring much from time to time with his Holiness, who was very inquisitive of all the concerns of *Ireland*, the nature of the people, *&c.* and especially what Wonders God had lately done by his Ministery there: he obtain'd indeed the confirmation of that new Metropolitical See erected by *Celsus*; but was put off the present grant of those *Palls* desired by him. That the Pope told him, that by reason *Gillaspuic* (or *Gilbertus*) being now grown old and infirm, had signified so much, and his desire to he eased of the *Legatin* care, it was necessary he should undertake it, and in that quality return back and hold a general Synod of the whole Nation. Which when he had done, and by general consent and fitting messengers desired the *Pallia*, they should be granted. And therefore told him also in plain terms, he could by no means yield to his first and most earnest petition of all, though by so many tears solicited by him, *viz.* that it might be lawful for him to retire presently to *Claravallis*, and live and die there with *Bernard*. That with this answer he is now dismiss'd by the Pope, but as with all delegable power, so with all imaginable kindness and respect, kissing him and putting his own Mitre on his head, his own stole about his

his neck, and his own maniple on his arm: which *Malachias* ever after uſed in officiating at the Altar. That having return'd by *Clarevallis*, left there four of his own diſciples to be educated in the Monaſtic Life by Saint *Bernard*: from thençe proceeded on in his Journey, and in his way through *Scotland*, at the inſtance of the good King *David*, by praying over the young Prince *Robert* his Son and Heir, recovered him inſtantly from the jaws of death; for he was quite given over by the Phyſitians: landed ſoon after at his beloved *Beannchuir* in the *North* of *Ireland*: he put himſelf immediately on the work of a true Legat indeed. And this for many years, without any intermiſſion, going about all the Provinces, holding frequent Synods, in all the quarters of the Land; reſtoring vigour to the old *Canons* of the Church: adding new ones that were of uſe: reforming all the corruptions, both new and old: preaching every where like an other *Helias*, or ſome Angel of Heaven come down on Earth. No Age, no Sex, no condition, no profeſſion could abſcond from his Beams, or hinder the operation of them. Whatever Decrees he made, whatever *Canons* he publiſh'd were preſently accepted, ſubmitted unto, obey'd, as Oracles without any contradiction at all. Nor had any perſon, Man or Woman, Prince or Prelat,

Prelat, or Peasant, or Monarch, the daring heart to resist him in any thing: because they daily saw before their eyes the signs wrought by him. You may read *cap.* 5. 8. 9. of his Life, written by St. *Bernard*, a good many of them; though few in respect of those he passes over, as the same holy Author St. *Bernard* says. And among them you may find the expulsion of Devils, and healing all Diseases, and reviving the Dead to Life, and the striking also of some impious wicked Blasphemers with an exemplary death to terrifie others. And all these miraculous works above Nature, done by the God of Nature, at the sole invocation of his Name by *Malachias*, without any other application, without any charm used by him, than that sometimes of lifting up his eyes to Heaven or a short Prayer, sometimes of a longer continued with fasting and weeping on God twenty four hours together. Unless peradventure his laying his hand on a desperate man, brought to him bound in cords, by reason of a furious frenzy that possess'd him: or his touching with his finger the tongue of a Young Girl that was mute: or his blessing a Cup of Drink, and sending it to a Woman so long past her Reckoning, that all her Neighbours wondred she was not dead: or his sprinkling of water, hallowed by himself, upon a wicked Noble-

man

man that lay long Bedrid: or his invoking the name of God on three Apples, and sending them to a Lady in the last agonies of death: be reputed a Diabolical Charm.

And yet after all I am of *Bernard*'s opinion, that the first and greatest Miracle wrought by *Malachias* was himself. From the first day of his conversion to the last of his Life, *sine proprio vixit*, he lived without property in any kind of thing. Even when he was Bishop he had neither man-servant nor maid-servant, nor Town, nor Village, nor Land nor one farthing either of Ecclesiastical or Temporal Revenue, no not for allowance to his Episcopal Table. He had not so much as a House of his own. He almost incessantly went about the Parishes preaching the Gospel, and living on the Gospel as our Lord had shew'd him the Example: save only that for most part he preach'd it without putting his Auditory to the charge of entertaining him; but maintain'd himself, and his Religious Train, by the labour of his own hands and theirs. When he found it necessary to take a little rest, he took it in some of the holy places founded by himself in all Countreys of the Kingdom. For it was he that was the great Restorer of the Monastick Life and Cloisters in *Ireland*: where, for so many Ages before, i. e. ever since the Universal desolation

by

by the *Danes*, the people generally, though they had heard of the name, yet they never ſaw any ſuch thing as a Monk, till he begun. *A diebus antiquis Monachi quidem nomen audierunt, monachum non viderunt:* ſays *Malachias* himſelf. *Vit. cap.* xi. And whereſoever he reſted, how ſhor tor how long ſoever his abode was, he conform'd to all their obſervances, their Habit, their Table, their Diet. Inſomuch, that as to the exteriour man, he could not be diſcovered from the meaneſt Brother of the Houſe. Laſtly, in his going about the Pariſhes or Countreys either to preach or to viſit, he never made uſe of Horſe, or Coach or Waggon, he went a foot conſtantly, as likewiſe did all his Train, though now both Biſhop and Legat. And was not all this, trow you, to be a true Heir indeed, a true Succeſſor to the Apoſtles? or was it not in *Malachias*, to be himſelf the firſt and laſt and greateſt of his Miracles? *O virum Apoſtolicum, quem tot & talia nobilitant ſigna Apoſtolatus ſui! Quid ergo mirum, ſi mira operatus eſt ſic mirabilis ipſo! Imo verò non ipſe, ſed Deus in ipſo. Alioquin tu es Deus (inquit) qui facis mirabilia*, ſays *Bernard*, exclaiming here with admiration of this wonderful man. However, this Life he led for about a dozen years, perpetually going about all the Provinces, reforming all the abuſes, doing good to all mortals, and working thoſe other prodigious

digious ſigns every where that I have touch'd upon before.

At laſt underſtanding that *Innocent* II. was dead: and after him within ſixteen months more *Celeſtin* II. and *Lucius* the ſecond too: and that *Eugenius* III. a Diſciple of Saint *Bernards*, being choſen to ſucceed them, was come ſo near as *France:* he calls a *National Synod*, holds it, diſpatches in the three firſt days of it what was thought expedient as to Reformation: on the fourth propoſes that of ſending to the See Apoſtolick for the Archiepiſcopal Enſigns called *Pallia:* offers himſelf to be the Solicitor of it in perſon: and tho with great difficulty to part with him at all for any time, yet obtains their conſent, the rather that the Pope was ſo near. And now he takes his Journey again through *Scotland:* where being receiv'd with all veneration by King *David*, he founds the laſt of his Monaſteries, at a place call'd (*ſtagnum viride*) the *Green Lake*; having to that purpoſe brought with him out of *Ireland* a ſufficient number of *Ciſtercian* Monks. And then he goes forward the ſecond time to *Claravallis* in *France*; taking that in his way to *Rome*, whither the Pope before his arrival on that ſide of the Sea was returned. And finally now, and from hence, *i. e.* from *Claravallis*, but after a few days of ſickneſs, and by a death anſwe-

anſwerable in all reſpects to his life, he is call'd to glory on that very day which himſelf had both deſired and foretold, the day of the *Commemoration of all faithful ſouls departed*; which, as I have noted before, was in the Year of Chriſt 1148.

More particulars, either of his life, or death, or miracles, whoever deſires may find them at large in the funeral Sermon preach'd, and Life alſo moſt exactly and divinely written of him even by St. *Bernard* himſelf. Who, beſides many other Abbots, and the whole *Ciſtercian* Convent of *Claravallis*, was preſent with him at his death; as they all miniſtred to him all along in his ſickneſs. And it is even this very *Bernard*, that with his own Eyes beheld the great Miracle which he tells wrought on a *Paralitick* by touching the hand of *Malachias*, while after his death he was yet expos'd in publick before Burial.

But it is not for the ſake of this or any other Miracle wrought by him, that I have dilated ſo much upon him; but to ſhew the ſtate of the Church of *Ireland* in thoſe days out of ſo good an Author as St. *Bernard* is. For in that Life of *Malachias* written by him (beſides many other points relating directly to the moſt healthful uſe of Confeſſion, *ſaluberrimum uſum confeſſionis* are *Bernards* own words, and the Sacrament of extream Unction,

on, and the real preſence of Chriſt in the conſecrated Hoſt, and Prayers for the Dead: all which I paſs over as not to the purpoſe of this Hiſtorical Diſcourſe:) it is very obſervable, That ſo bleſſed a Man as *Cealtach* was, even by the character of a Saint (*Sanctus Celſus*) given him by *Colganus*, and ſo learned withal, as Sir *James Ware* repreſents him to have been, did without conſulting the See Apoſtolick of *Rome*, and did I ſay by his own authority alone as *Primat* of *Ardmagh*, erect another Metropolitical See in *Ireland*. That, not even at any time from the beginning, the *Iriſh* Church, or Metropolitans thereof, until this time of *Malachias* either had, or (for ought we know) ever deſired the *Pallium*; but without it exercis'd all plenitude of Archiepiſcopal and Primatial juriſdiction all over *Ireland*. Beſides we may plainly ſee by whoſe ſolicitation at firſt the Court of *Rome* was moved in the concern of *Palls* of *Ireland*. And that Cardinal *John Papiron*'s bringing them to *Ireland*, about four years after the death of *Malachias*, was undoubtedly an effect of theſe two Journeys made by him out of *Ireland* to obtain them. Albeit we know not certainly whether it was *Malachias* that deſired ſo many as were brought by *Papiron*. Or whether, after his death others did ſuggeſt for the reaſonableneſs and expediency of

of so many, that in *Ireland* were chiefly four Parti ions, Governments or Provincial Kingdoms, of very different natures, manners, interests, Feuds, and Kings too, that would not yield any of them to the other willingly: and by consequence would not be govern'd, not even in Ecclesiastical affairs, but by some of their own, without dependance on any other, except only the Prelat of that See which from the beginning of Christianity had prescribed some right over them all.

But enough on this Subject relating to *Malachias*, the former of those two extraordinary Saints rais'd by God in the decrepit Age of the *Irish* Monarchy.

The later of them was a *Leinster* man of Noble Descent: his *Irish* name and sirname *Laurace O Tuathil* (in English, *Laurence Tool:*) his Father *Muirchiortach O Tuathil*, Lord of *Imaile* and peradventure some other small adjoyning Tracts in the County of *Wickloe:* his Mother, *Inghin J. Bhrian*, i. e. one of *O Brian*'s Daughters: and he the youngest of all their Children. But for the name of *Laurence* (a name so unusual in that Countrey then) 'twas given him on this occasion. Being born, his Father sent him to be Christened at *Kildare* by *Donachadh* Lord of that Countrey, of purpose to let him know by this *Gossipred* he was reconciled to him:

for before they had been at ſome diſtance: and therefore thoſe that carried the Child were commanded by the Father to Chriſten him *Conchabhar*; this being that Nobleman's ſurname who was to be Godfather. But a perſon, reputed in that Countrey then, ſuch an other as *Merlin* had been of old among the *Brittans*, meeting them in the High-way, charg'd them to call him *Laurence*: aſſuring them he would himſelf that night excuſe them to their Lord; and then adding prophetically in *Iriſh* Verſe; *This Child ſhall be great on Earth and glorious in Heaven: he ſhall command over great multitudes both of rich and poor, and* Laurence *ſhall be his name.* When he was but ten years old, his Father delivered him an Hoſtage to *Diarmuid* the King of *Leinſter*. In which condition, notwithſtanding the innocency of his Age he ſuffer'd incredible miſeries, even to extream want of Raiment and Food, in a deſert place among barbarous people, where he had been for two years confined. At the expiration of which, being return'd back in exchange of other Priſoners, though not delivered to the Father himſelf, but to the Biſhop of *Gleann-da-Logh*: and his Father coming on the twelfth day, not only to ſee him, but to deſire the Biſhop to learn of God by Lot which of his children he ſhould dedicate to an Eccleſiaſtick Life; and

and he taking this opportunity and telling his Father, That with his leave he himſelf would be that Child: the Father ſurpriz'd with joy, takes him preſently by the right hand; and offers him up perpetually to God in that holy place dedicated to St. *Kenin*, both Cathedral Church and Abbey, the one govern'd by a Biſhop, the other by an Abbot. Where *Laurence* proves in a little time ſo ſingular a proficient in all Virtue, that the Abbot dying, the unanimous conſent both of the Monks and Nobles of the Countrey Voted him Abbot, and forc'd him to accept of it in the 25th year of his Age.

And now it begun to appear more eminently what ſpirit he was of. For the more he was honour'd, the more he abaſed himſelf, the ſtricter guard he kept on all his ſenſes, and the more intent he was upon his holy aſcetick Exerciſes. Above all, that Virtue which is the *bond of perfection*; that Virtue which ſhall *never be evacuated*, but after *Faith* and *Hope* are ended ſhall remain; that Virtue which, by relieving the afflictions of other mortals, makes the Reliever a God to them, as *Pliny* ſpeaks in his Panegyrick to *Trajan*; Charity, I mean, did at this time ſhew what power ſhe had over the Soul of *Laurence*. He was no ſooner made Abbot, than a general Famine oppreſſing all that

Countrey four years continually, he no leſs continually employ'd himſelf in relieving all that were in want, eſpecially the poorer ſort, with corn and cattel, and all the Revenues of his Abbey: Revenues that were very great; yea far ſurpaſſing thoſe of the Biſhoprick. Nor muſt we admire they ſhould be ſo. It was one of the moſt famous ancient Monaſteries of the Kingdom, founded at firſt by St. *Kevin* (as we call him, but the Iriſh *Ceaghin*, the Latins *Coenginus*) a perſon though illuſtrious for his Royal extraction, yet much more celebrated as well for the admirable auſterity of his Life, as for his manifold prodigious Miracles; which made him after his death be aſſumed Patron both of the Town, Abbey, Cathedral Church and whole Dioceſs of *Gleann-da-Loch*, where he lived and died. Beſides none but Noblemen's children were elected Abbots: and the Noblemen themſelves of the whole Dioceſs had by ancient cuſtom their Voices in the election of them as well as the Monks. However the large Revenues of the Abbey as they came ſhort of the neceſſities of the poor in that long and general Famine: ſo they did of the charity of *Laurence*; as may be well concluded out of what follows hereafter.

Much about the time this Famine had ended; the Biſhop of *Gleann-da-Loch* dying, he

he was choſen to ſucceed. But notwithſtanding all the importunity of the Electors, he declined it, though pretending only his unCanonical Age. Yet ſo he could not ſoon after the Archbiſhoprick of *Dublin*. For *Gregory* the Firſt Archbiſhop of this See being dead, *Laurence* by the unanimous conſent of the Clergy and People of *Dublin*, ſays *Waræus*, was elected Archbiſhop: and, being at laſt by continual importunities drawn to yield, was conſecrated at *Dublin* by *Gelaſius* Primat of *Ardmagh* and other Biſhops, *Anno* 1162. juſt fourteen years after the death of *Malachias* in *France*. What more *Waræus* thought fit to record of him is, That preſently after conſecration he changed the *ſecular Canons* of his Cathedral Church into *Regular* of the Order of *Aroaſia*, whoſe habit and rule of Life himſelf alſo took upon him now. That about eleven years after he built the Choire and Steeple with an other addition of three new Chappels to *Trinity Church* in that City. That in the Year 1179. he went to the General Council held then at *Rome* under *Alexander* III. That according to the Author of his Life, he was there made Legat of *Ireland* by that Pope: ſoon after return'd back, and exercis'd his Legatin Authority in *Ireland*. That *Gerald Barry*, commonly call'd *Cambrenſis*,

Commentar. de Præſul. Hiber.

L. 2. *expugn. Hib.* c. 23.

Cambrenſis, ſeems to intimate, he never had been permitted to return to *Ireland*; (*ſed ob privilegia aliqua zelo ſuæ Gentis impetrata*) but for ſome priviledges obtain'd from the Pope in that Council for his Countrey, prejudicial to the Royal power of *Henry* II. was detained a long time partly in *England*, partly in *France*; until at laſt falling ſick in his Journey, he died at *Auge* in *Normandy* the 14th of *Novemb.* 1180. or as others have it 1181. Finally, that in the Year 1225. he was canonized by Pope *Honorius* III. and his Relicks tranſlated to *Trinity Church* in *Dublin*. Which being the brief account given by *Wæus* of this great Servant of God; he leaves us for the reſt, that is, for the Virtues and Wonders of his Life to the *Author* of it, publiſhed by *Surius*.

Out of this nameleſs Author chiefly, though for ſome part alſo out of the Bull of his canonization, I have ſelected theſe few particulars following, that give us a Scheme of the remainder of his Life after he was made Biſhop. In which remainder, I muſt confeſs I know not what to admire leaſt. I am ſure there is enough that ſhew him *to have run* his *Race not as uncertainly*; *to have fought not as one that beateth the air*; but like an other *Paul*, *to have chaſtiſed his Body*, *and brought it*

1 Cor. 9. 26.

to

to ſubjection, leſt preaching to others he *ſhould* himſelf *be a Reprobat.* Enough that evince him *to have crucified his fleſh with all its vices and all its concupiſcences.* Gal. *ver.* 24. Enough that prove him to have truly imitated the good *Shepherd* of the *Goſpel*, by employing all his care, and Power, and Wealth, and Zeal, and Life alſo, to the very laſt, for preſervation of the Sheep committed to his keeping. *Joan.* X. 11. In a word, enough that demonſtrate him to have been a familiar of Heaven while he was yet on Earth, and a moſt ſtupendious Saint of God both in his life and death, and after his death.

He was no ſooner outwardly clad at his conſecration with the glory of an Archbiſhops Veſture and the Pontifical habiliments, then he covered himſelf inwardly next his skin with the ſeverity of a rough *cilicium* (a courſe Haircloth) reaching down from his neck to his heels, every-where ſowed cloſe to his Limbs, and never put off, never waſhed, never chang'd, never open'd while the pieces of it could hold together; only one certain piece that was turn'd aſide thrice a day while he received on his bare fleſh the ſmarting ſtrokes of a knotty diſciplin. For ſo many times at leaſt in twenty four hours,

he was constantly disciplin'd (as they call it) by the hands of a familiar Friend, whom he trusted, after he had first enjoin'd him to secrecy all his life.

He as soon begun his abstinence from all sorts of flesh throughout the whole Year; which he continued evermore to his death. On *Fridays*, when he ate, he ate only bread and water: for very often he took neither: and when he did, he commonly temper'd his bread with lye and ashes. In the forty days of *Lent* he tasted nothing at all but thrice a week the same hard fare of bread and water, and now and then a few Herbs. And all that *Quadragesimal* season, at the return of it every year, he retired into a most horrid, though holy, Wilderness, Saint *Kevin*'s Rock three miles from *Gleann-da loch*. A Rock environ'd on every side with dark Woods, besides a deep Lake of one side, enclosing its perpendicular precipice of sixty Cubits high, whence there is not so much as any looking down without horror; and on the other side an other precipice too, though but of thirty Cubits in heighth, and by a Ladder ascendable. Within it is a little Plain, Verdure, Trees, and a Spring. In that side of it, which hangs over the Lake, there is a hollow made by St. *Kevin*'s own hands (for so the Tradition of that Countrey says) that serv'd

ſerv'd him both for an Oratory to pray in, and repoſitory when he would ſleep. However in this hollow and on this Rock did *Laurence* all alone yearly ſpend thoſe 40 days and 40 nights of *Lent* in ſpiritual Exerciſes converſing only with God: ſeeing no creature but only thrice a week; and then only his own Nephew *Thomas* Abbot of *Gleannda-loch*, who alone brought him a meals meat of bread each time he came; for the Rock of it ſelf afforded water, as we have ſeen already. By this Nephew alſo he both receiv'd the complaints or whatever affairs of the Dioceſs that needed his determination. And by him he anſwer'd all, unleſs the matter was ſo extraordinary that it requir'd his own preſence out of hand: for then he appear'd; yet withall retiring preſently when he had done, and ſo continuing his former ſtation and exerciſes till *Eaſter*.

As for the reſt of the Year when he had any vacation from the publick charge of his own Dioceſs, or others under him as Metropolitan, he lived with his *Chanons* in the ſame Cloiſter *, built by himſelf, and annex'd to his Cathedral Church: ate as they did, and in the ſame Refectory and time with them: kept ſilence in the ſame

* Albertus Myræus *in his* Faſti Belg. & Burgund. *ſays this Cloiſter was call'd the Monaſtery of St.* Patrick.

ſame places and hours they did: went to the ſame Choire with them at midnight, and ſung *Mattins* as they did there; With this only difference, that after all was over, and the *Canons* return'd to repoſe in their Chambers, he ſinging to himſelf the whole Pſalter of *David*, always continued alone in the Church at his private Devotions till break of day: ſometime ſtanding, ſometime kneeling; but in either poſture before the *holy Rood*, and not ſeldom breaking out into Raptures and Divine Colloquies with him that was crucified upon it, our Lord and Saviour Chriſt. For ſo it was obſerved very often by ſome of the *Canons*, that unknown to him remained likewiſe in private prayer for ſome time after the Community was gone. But ſo ſoon as it was clear day, he went conſtantly forth to the Church-yard; where walking a good while he ſung to God the commendation of all faithful Souls departed.

And ſuch indeed were the divine Exerciſes of *Laurence*, 1ſt, in his Anachoretical Solitude in the Rock of St. *Keuin*. 2dly, in his ordinary retirement to his own *Aroaſian* Cloiſter of *Dublin*: in both as a private man, but familiar of God, cultivating his own Soul, and ſoaring to Heaven with many wings like a *Cherub*; eſpecially thoſe of prayer and contemplation, that ſeem'd to ſuſpend him already far above all ſublunary things. But,

But as a Biſhop, the Virtues peculiarly belonging to the diſcharge of his Paſtoral Duty could not be ſo eaſily conceal'd. They were a great many of them too illuſtrious and conſpicuous to the eyes of all men. As a Biſhop he obſerv'd in a very excellent manner the Rule of the Apoſtle both to rich and poor. And firſt towards the Rich. For though he continued ſtill ſo abſtemious himſelf, though perpetually ſo ſevere a puniſher of his own body with faſting and other mortifications too; yet as he was notwithſtanding of a moſt comely perſonage and noble preſence, ſo his reception of all perſons of Quality and Gentlemen that came to his Epiſcopal Table was anſwerably graceful, liberal, ſplendid in all reſpects according to their degrees: variety of the beſt diſhes, and choice withal of the moſt delicate Wines. Beſides he ſat down himſelf ſometimes to entertain them; though feeding but very little, and that on ſome groſſer Diſh; or rather indeed commonly ſeeming only to feed, that nothing ſingular might appear in him. Which was the reaſon too, that although in very deed his drink at theſe entertainments was no other in ſubſtance than water; yet his Cupbearer had orders to daſh it lightly with red, that he might ſeem to drink Wine. Secondly towards the poor. He never miſſed a day without ſeeing

now

now Threescore, now Forty, and never less than Thirty of them fed in his own presence; Besides far greater numbers of them maintain'd out of his Revenue constantly for a long time, as we shall presently see.

As a Bishop he preach'd Repentance continually to the people of that opulent City, who were prodigiously immers'd in drunkenness, lust, contentions, rapin, blood-shed, and all kind of wickedness. Yea, and as a Prophet too he ceas'd not with Tears to warn 'em of their general destruction at hand, if they did not speedily appease Heaven with unfeign'd Repentance. As a Bishop, when this general calamity like the breaking in of the Sea came upon them suddenly in one day, in one hour; when the City was taken and sack'd and burn'd by *Diarmuid na Ngall* their incens'd King and his foreign Auxiliaries; when their streets were all covered with the bodies of the slaughter'd Citizens, and the Gutters ran with blood; when the very Clergy were plunder'd and Churches rifled of all that was precious in them: as a good Bishop, I say, it was that *Laurence* at this time, first beholding with floods of Tears like an other *Jeremy* the slaughter of his people before his eyes; then taking courage like the good *Pastor* in the Gospel, thrust himself upon the bloody swords of the Conquerors, holding

ing their Arms, praying their mercy, entreating them for ſome, ſnatching others from their fury to Chriſtian burial who had their Souls yet panting in their Bodies: and when no more could be done by him in any other kind, giving himſelf wholly now to that generous imitation of *Tobias*.

As a Biſhop it was that although with great hazard ſtill unto himſelf, yet he uſed that Epiſcopal freedom with the King and his inſulting Commanders, that the Clergy were at laſt permitted their own Habitations, and the Churches reſtor'd their Books and Ornaments. As a Biſhop, he employ'd in the next place all his compaſſion and all his Revenue (I mean what was left thereof unſeized by the Military men, or undeſtroy'd by fire) yea and all whatever he could procure from others to relieve the few Survivors of the ſlaughter'd Citizens. His very Bowels did yearn over them; eſpecially thoſe whom he had ſo lately ſeen to flouriſh in all kind of Earthly happineſs; and now ſaw without Houſe to lie in, without Cloaths to cover their nakedneſs, without meat or drink to preſerve life, without other comfort than that of miſerable Captives under a moſt deadly Foe.

As a Biſhop, when an other general Famin had in his days lien heavy on all the Land, he

he not only gave daily ſuſtenance for three whole years to five hundred perſons, reduced before to the worſt of conditions, plain ſtarving; but in ſeveral parts of his Dioceſs provided meat, and drink and cloaths, and all other neceſſaries for three hundred more. And in the ſame cruel ſeaſon of ſcarcity it was that, Mothers reduced to extream want, laying their chriſom Babes in the night at his door, and in the day alſo where ever they ſaw he was to paſs, he took care of them all, providing Nurſes from them; and, though two hundred in number at one time, ſent them to his own Stewards and Bayliffs to be kept on his own Land; and, when they were come to years of diſcretion and ſome abilities of Body, recommended them about all the Province with the badg of a wooden Croſs in their hands.

As a Biſhop, and a Legat too ſays the Author of his Life, he conniv'd at no diſorder in the Clergy, no vice, no ſin, and leaſt of all at the ſcandalous one of Incontinency whether in Prieſt, Deacon, or ſub-Deacon. Which fleſhly Vice he did ſo much abominate, eſpecially in them, and found it ſo neceſſary to be proceeded againſt with vigour: that even ſo great a number as a hundred and forty Prieſts convict thereof he ſent together at one time for Penance and Abſolution to *Rome*; though he

he might otherwiſe have given them both at home by his own Authority.

As a Biſhop, yea as a Father of his Countrey in general, he ſpent the little remainder as well of his Revenue as of his health and Life in croſſing the Seas now again from *Ireland* to *England*, from *England* to *France*, in both Countreys, following and ſolliciting peace from *Henry* II. to eaſe the common calamities of his Nation at this time.

And now the diſſolution of his earthly Tabernacle being at hand, how becoming a moſt Chriſtian Biſhop, and a moſt holy Apoſtolical Legat indeed, not only his very laſt exemplary Eccleſiaſtical preparation for it, but his very laſt anſwer to the Abbot of *Auge* on that occaſion was? For in his way through *France* to *Normandy*, having fallen ſick of a Feaver at *Abbevil* (a): gone forward nevertheleſs to *Auge* on the borders of *Normandy*: when at a diſtance he ſaw the Church of our *Lady* there, prophetically foretold his own departure in that place: then enter'd that Church: pray'd in it a little while: thence gone to his Lodging and Bed: ſent for *Osbert* the religious Abbot of that Monaſtery: confeſs'd his ſins to him, and receiv'd the holy *Viaticum* from him: then for proſecuting his buſineſs to *Henry* II. diſ-

(a) Cambrenſis. *Vit. apud Sur.*

diſpatch'd his Chaplain *David*, together with his own Nephew, to that King: on their return the fourth day with the joyfull news of their ſucceſs (*i. e.* of the Peace granted by the ſame *Henry* II. to *Roderick*, the *Iriſh* King) ſeem'd tranſported with it for the ſake of his Countrey, how low ſoever he knew himſelf brought by his ſickneſs: upon the third day following deſired of the ſaid Abbot and his whole Monaſtery to be as a Member incorporated among them: and this accordingly done, then preſently deſired further and (purſuant to his deſire) in all their preſence receiv'd the laſt Sacrament, which they call *Extreme Unction:* having I ſay paſs'd through all theſe ſteps, and very laſt Eccleſiaſtical preparatories for death: when the good Abbot *Osbertus*, conſidering him an Archbiſhop, had according to cuſtom, minded him of making his laſt Will and Teſtament: his Anſwer was in theſe few words [*Novit Dominus mihi ne nummum quidem ſub ſole relictum eſſe*] *The Lord knows that I have not a penny left me under the Sun.*

Beſides, how like the great Biſhop of our *Souls* weeping over *Hieruſalem*, this Biſhop of *Ireland* remembring and lamenting (once more for all) the condition of his own Countrey, brake forth into theſe Expreſſions in his own mother Language? *Ah fooliſh and ſot-*

tiſh

iſh People! what will you do now? who will bring you back from your ſtrayings? who will apply Balm to your wounds? who will cure you, or take care of you at all? And this Lamentation which Nature expreſs'd from him, ended, how then at laſt like an other *Auſtin*, he behaved himſelf in the laſt moments of his Life. For then converting himſelf wholly and for himſelf only to God, he ceas'd not with tears, and ſighs, and ſobs too, repeating continually while he could open his lips, that Verſe of the *Pſalmiſt*, *Have mercy on me O God, have mercy on me, becauſe my ſoul confideth in thee:* until about midnight on the 13th of *November*, *Anno* 1181. he breath'd out his laſt to his Redeemer.

Now that ſuch a life, and ſuch a death of a man ſo virtuous all along from his very Youth, whether he be conſidered either as a Clerk, or Monk, or Abbot of *Gleann-da-Loch*, or as Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, and *Chanon* of the *Aroaſian* Inſtitute, or as Legat of *Ireland*, or as a proſperous or afflicted man, ſhould be atteſted as pleaſing to God by prodigious Miracles both in his life and after his death, ſeems nothing ſtrange to me. The Author of his Life recounts a good many of them wrought in the time of his Life. And the Bull of his canonization (dated at *Reate* III. *Ides Decemb.* by *Honorius* III. Ninth year of

his Pontificat, which was of *Christ* 1225.) gives a brief sum of all (that had been wrought either in his Life or after his death) by telling us, That besides the Dumb, and Lame, and Lepers, and many others afflicted with sundry other maladies, cur'd of all their evils at the sole invocation of God by him, or in his name, and at his Tomb by others: he was, by the power of God, the wonderful raiser e'en from death to life of seven persons in particular, and among 'em of one who had been full three days dead. Nor can I well deny that this Bull ought to have by much the more credit with many who are not in other matters over-credulous, and ought so to have for these reasons: 1. Because it was procured and the whole ceremony and process of this canonization sollicited, not only by the Letters of the Archbishop and Chapter of *Roan*, and of the Abbot and Convent of the foresaid *Auge*, where the body then rested within the Diocess of *Roan*, but by those also of many other Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots and religious men: all attesting the sanctity of his Life and glory of Miracles continually wrought after his death at his Tomb. 2. Because the Inquisition was made partly in *France* by the Archbishop, Dean and Treasurer of *Roan*, and for the rest in *Ireland* by the Bishop of *Kildare* and Prior of *Trinity Church*

Church in *Dublin*. 3. Becauſe within 45 years after his death all was finiſh'd, and this very Bull iſſued, and his Feſtivity with an Octave kept in the moſt ſolemn manner could be, both at *Auge* in *France*, and at *Dublin* and elſewhere in *Ireland*, while the people were yet alive, nay by a world of thoſe very people of all degrees that knew and converſed with him familiarly, and yet invoked him now moſt devoutly and religiouſly as Coheir of *Chriſt* in glory, and their tutelary Patron under *Chriſt* with God the Father.

The fifth and laſt Point is, That notwithſtanding all the ſanctity and merits either of thoſe two extraordinary Wonder-working Saints of God, *Malachy* and *Laurence*, or of any other holy men whatſoever, that in ſecret mourned for the iniquities of their People; that cried to God inceſſantly to ſpare them; and that in the Language of *Ezechiel* interpos'd themſelves *a hedg* between the wrath of Heaven and their Land, by faſting and praying, and afflicting their own Bodies for the ſins of others, yet all would not do. It was now come to that paſs with the People of *Ireland* in general, which had been with the People of *Judæa*, when God ſpake to *Hieremy* the Prophet, (c. XV. v. 1.) firſt aſſuring him, that although *Samuel* and *Moſes* Ezech. XXII. 30.

ſtood before his face to intercede for them, yet he would not liſten to their prayer; becauſe his ſoul was againſt that People: and then commanding him to pronounce *ejection* from *before his face*, *extermination* and *flitting* out of their Land againſt them. It was come to that very paſs with the *Iriſh* now, in which it had been again with the ſame ſtubborn ſtiffnecked *Iſraelites*, when he declar'd to the Prophet *Ezechiel* and ſware unto him even by his own Life, That *if thoſe very three* (moſt perfect ſervants of his in their generation) *Moſes*, *Daniel* and *Job* lived among them: yet *by their righteouſneſs they ſhould only ſave themſelves*; not any other, no not ſo much as *either Son or Daughter*. For ſuch indeed was the deplorable caſe of the ancient *Mileſians* of *Ireland* at this time, the very laſt period of their Monarchy. And ſuch it was notwithſtanding ſo many juſt men, as in particular the Biſhops *Malchus*, and *Gilbertus*, and *Celſus*, and *Chriſtianus* and *Gelaſius*, and *Malachi* and *Laurence*, that lived among them and interceded for them continually to God. Yea, ſuch it was notwithſtanding all the Reformation ſo lately wrought by any of theſe holy men, among either Eccleſiaſticks or Laics any where in the Nation, and all the Councils held, and all the Monaſteries built, and Schools erected, and Churches endowed, and whatever

ever elſe at this time was practis'd to reſtore both civility and piety to ſome degree of the ancient Luſtre. Nothing at all could any longer ſlow the execution of the final doom pronounced by the *Watcher* and *holy one of Heaven* againſt the lofty proud *Mileſian* Tree. Nor muſt we wonder at it, if we reflect upon what is diſcours'd at large in the former Section. The Kings, and Princes, and Nobles, and Men at Arms of *Ireland*, either all this while were not at all themſelves reformed: or certainly, and that moſt frequently too, were again relapſed into their old accurſed Feuds, their concuſſions, violences, rapin, oppreſſion, revenge, their ſpilling of one anothers blood to death: and this even all along, from time to time, until the Executioners of their final Sentence came to part them, and make them for ever ſlaves on every ſide to a forein People.

What other ſins of the *Iriſh* Nation might (according to the judgment of man) have incenſed God, after ſo long forbearance, to pour upon 'em ſo dreadful a judgment, I cannot ſay. And the reaſon is, becauſe I find no ſpecification of any other in thoſe Hiſtories of theirs which I have read. Yet, I will not paſs over in ſilence, what I find to this purpoſe in *Girald* of *Wales* (I mean *Cambrenſis.*) This Author ſays, that upon

the taking of *Dublin*, and harraſing of *Meath* by *Diarmeid na-Ngall* King of *Leinſter* and his forein Auxiliaries: the Clergy of *Ireland* aſſembled in a National Synod at *Ardmach*, having debated the cauſes of this Invaſion: and after full debate, reſolved firſt in general, that the ſins of their Nation had brought this calamity on them: Secondly, in particular, That their evil cuſtom of buying *Chriſtian Engliſh* Youths, as well from Merchants as Pirats, and making them ſlaves for ever, had been a ſpecial Cauſe of it: Thirdly, That God was juſt in ſubjecting their People to the ſame condition of ſlavery under that very Nation which they had ſo unchriſtianly uſed: it was therefore in the laſt place unanimouſly decreed, That immediately all *Engliſh* ſlaves whereſoever throughout the whole Kingdom ſhould be manumiſed, and ſet at full Liberty. So ſays *Cambrenſis*, in his Firſt Book *de Expug. Hibern.* c. 28. Where he further ſays, That the People of *England*, *i. e.* the *Saxons*, while their Kingdom flouriſh'd before the *Norman* Conqueſt, had this vitious cuſtom among them generally, That rather than ſuffer any the leaſt want, they ſet their children to publick ſale, and ſent both children and Couſins too over Seas to be ſold in *Ireland*. And then he gives his own judgment on the whole, concluding, It may be probably believed,

lieved, That as God in his Juſtice had already puniſh'd with ſervitude under a forein Yoak the *Saxon* Sellers, ſo the *Iriſh* Buyers were juſtly fallen at this time into the like ſeverity of Gods avenging wrath.

But whether alſo that horrible violation of the Sanctuary of God for fifteen Generations: and the moſt hideous corruption of Manners flowing thence, and overflowing well nigh the whole Kingdom: whereof we have ſeen before ſo much out of St. *Bernard*, might not be another ſpecial and peradventure more exaſperating cauſe? Or whether the exemplary puniſhment fallen ſo ſuddenly under *Malachias* upon the whole Race of thoſe nefarious men, that for ſo long were the chief Authors of that ſacriledg and corruption, did, or did not ſatisfie the Juſtice of God as to that matter? And whether the Reformation wrought by *Malachias* in his own days, continued any while after his death? Nay whether ſo great a number of incontinent Prieſts, within ſo little a time of his death, and under the ſuperintendency of ſo bleſſed a man as St. *Laurence* was, might not argue a third or fourth ſpecial motive? Or whether at leaſt, it might not evince a very juſt ground to ſuſpect e'en a very great Apoſtacy among the Clergy themſelves in ſome places, and by conſequence a much greater a-mong the people in the ſame places, from that holy Reform of them by

Malachias? I must confess, I know not what to answer these Queres; as being for one part of them enveloped in the darkness of God's secret determinations: and for the rest, or matter of Fact, observable by man, past over without any mention of it in History. Only this I can with much probability aver, That they are much out, who, grounding themselves on that number of Priests convict of Incontinency by St. *Laurence*, would thence conclude, this of Incontinency to have been a general Vice infecting the *Irish* Clergy and People of *Ireland* at this time, and consequently one of the special causes that brought the heaviest of their judgments, *The English Conquest*, upon them. 1. *Gratianus Lucius* (p. 319.) tells us, 'That *Albinus O Molloy*, Abbot first of *Baltinglass*, then Bishop of *Ferns* (under *Henry* II. when *Laurence* was Archbishop of *Dublin*, and those Priests convict) in a Mid-'lent Sermon of his, treating at large of the 'continency of Clerks, and inveighing bit-'terly as to that point, against the wicked 'Example given by those *Welsh* and *English* 'Ecclesiasticks come to *Ireland* with *Fitz-'Steven*, *Strongbow*, &c. declared in very ample 'manner how extraordinary pure the Cha-'stity of the *Irish* Clergy had been before they 'mix'd with those Foreiners, and were cor-'rupted by their Example. 2. *Cambrensis* himself,

himſelf, how unfavourable ſoever he be in other matters to that Nation, is (in his *Topography, diſt. 3. c.* xxvii.) a witneſs beyond exception, as of other great Virtues, ſo in particular of the Chaſtity of their Eccleſiaſticks. *Eſt autem terræ iſtius Clerus ſatis Religione commendabilis: & inter varias quibus pollet virtutes, caſtitatis prærogativa præeminet atque præcellit.* *The Clergy of that Land*, ſays he, *as to Religion are commendable enough: and among their many Virtues, Chaſtity has in an excellent degree the prerogative of all.* And then he goes on telling their aſſiduity in reading and praying, and ſinging Pſalms, and keeping within the precincts of their Churches and Abbeys, and never taſting any thing all day until they had ended *Completorium*, or *Complin*, as they call it, the very laſt of the canonical Hours, in the dusk of the Evening. 'Tis true, he cenſures their indulging themſelves at night more freely both in meat and drink. But it is withal no leſs true, That therefore he wonders at their Chaſtity: holding it for *a Miracle* that Wine and *Venus* ſhould not meet.

And yet after all, I know not what to think of his charging them ſo grievouſly in theſe two particulars. 1. That (*inter tot millia vix unum invenies*, &c.) among ſo many Thouſands, ſcarce one might be found that not-

notwithſtanding their continual inſtance in praying and faſting all day, did not at night enormouſly exceed in Wine and other drinks. 2d. That albeit their Biſhops, as having been generally aſſumed out of Monaſteries, perform'd moſt diligently all the duties of Religious Monks: for according to the ancient cuſtom they even after their aſſumption to the Epiſcopal Order, continued ſtill their abode within the precincts of their Abbeys, wholly given to Prayer and contemplation: yet withal they no leſs wholly neglected preaching to their people, or inveighing againſt their wickedneſs, or uſing the ſeverity of Epiſcopal diſciplin to extirpate their Vices, and plant thoſe Virtues in their ſtead which became Chriſtian Profeſſors. And indeed, if *Cambrenſis*, as he is often in other matters of *Ireland*, be not extreamly out, or extreamly byaſſed, in theſe particulars, eſpecially the ſecond of them: we may peradventure juſtly conceive, that here is an other ſpecial cauſe of that very heavieſt of Gods judgments impending at this time over the *Iriſh* Nation.

But whatever may be thought to have either been or not been any of the ſpecial cauſes: and although, as I ought ſo I do acknowledg, that not even my own ſuppoſition all along hitherto, *viz. of their mortal Feuds and bloodſhed among themſelves to have been their greateſt*,

greatest, most special and most peculiar provocation of Heaven, must be obtruded on the Reader as a certainty; but only represented to him as the most probable and pious conjecture that may be grounded as well on the Prophetical predictions of the *Irish Saints*, as upon the nature and merit of things in themselves, taken as they are recorded so fully and particularly in Doctor *Ketings* History: yet I may confidently affirm, they were in general very great and very grievous and enormous sins, without question, either of the Clergy, or People, or their Bishops, or of their Kings, Princes, Nobles and other men of War, or of all together, that brought so heavy, so everlasting a judgment on that Nation as to their Being in this World. For although particular persons have been sometimes grievously afflicted only for the trial of their Virtue; as *Job* and *Tobias:* sometimes only for the manifestation of the Power and Works of God, without any demerit of theirs, or their Parents either; as the *Blind Man* in the Gospel: never has a whole Nation or Kingdom been destroy'd but for the enormity of their sins. Whereof whoever pleases may see proofs at large in *Fitz-Herberts Policy and Religion*, Part 1. chap. 21.22.23.&c. yea *Jesus*, the son of *Syrach*, for he may be more easily consulted in every Bible at hand, may give to a sober

man

man assurance enough, where he says, First (*cap.* 10. 8.) that *the Kingdom is translated from Nation to Nation, because of unjust dealings, injuries, calumnies, and various deceits.* Secondly, (c. 40. 10.) that *death and bloodshed, strife, and the sword, oppression, famine, contrition and scourges, were all of them created for the wicked, and for them the deluge was made.* Nay, if we consult the Books of Kings, read the Prophets, run over the Books of *Josuah, Judges, Deuteronomy, Chronicles,* and the rest of the old Testament, examine all the Histories of Christendom: we shall not find any whole Kingdom or Nation destroy'd but for grievous and horrible sins either of the Rulers, or People, or Priests, or all together. Yea, we shall commonly find the very quality and species of those transgressions mentioned that brought the vengeance on them. However, and notwithstanding that further yet we know, that bloodshed is one of those four sins that cry to Heaven for vengeance: *the Voice of thy brothers blood cries to me from the earth,* said God himself to *Cain:* and that the very second of the Laws he gave to *Noe* was, that *whosoever did shed the blood of man, his also should be shed:* after all, I dare not affirm politively that either those

Gen. X. 11.

Gen. IX. 6.

those very Feuds of the *Irish*, how unparallel'd soever in blood, or those other transgressions *in specie*, be they what you please, were the sins that moved God to pronounce this final doom against them; but only in general, That their great sins compell'd him to it. And how should I indeed?

For, *who was the Counsellor of God?* or who knows any thing of the secrets of his Providence, except only those to whom himself was pleased to reveal them. Esay XL. 13. Rom. XI. 39.

Nevertheless I dare acquaint the Reader, that although I give but little credit generally, and sometimes none at all, to the Relations of *Cambrensis*, where he seems rather to vent his passion and write a Satyr against that People, than regard either Modesty or Truth; yet I will not call in question what he relates (*l.* 2. *de Expug. Hib. c.* 33.) of the Prophetical predictions, made so many Ages before, by the four Prophetical Saints of that Nation, *Moling*, *Brachan*, *Patrick* and *Columb-Cille*, and *written by themselves* (says he) *in their own Irish Books extant yet in Ireland*, concerning the final Fate of their Countreymen the old *Milesian* Race. *viz.* 'That 'the people of Great *Brittain* shall not only 'invade them, but for many Ages continue a 'sharp, cruel, and yet doubtful War upon 'them

'them at home in *Ireland*: ſometimes the one, 'and ſometimes the other ſide prevailing. 'That although thoſe Invaders ſhall be often 'diſturb'd, worſted, weakned, eſpecially (and 'according to the prophecy of *Brachan*) 'by a certain King that ſhall come from the 'deſert Mountains of *Patrick*, and on a *Sun-* 'day-night ſeize a Caſtle in the Woody parts 'of *Ibh Faohtain*, and beſides force them al- 'moſt all away out of *Ireland*: yet they ſhall 'continually maintain the *Eaſtern* Sea-Coaſt 'in their poſſeſſion. That, in fine, it will 'be no ſooner than a little before the day of 'judgment, and then it will be, when they 'ſhall be throughly and univerſally victorious 'over all *Ireland*; erect Caſtles every where 'among the *Iriſh*; and reduce the whole 'Iſland from Sea to Sea under the *Engliſh* 'Yoak.

And verily thoſe Prophetical predictions, five hundred years ſince delivered us by *Cambrenſis* as he received 'em from the *Iriſh* themſelves, are the more obſervable, That by conſulting the Hiſtory of after-Ages from *Henry* II. of *England* to the laſt of Queen *Elizabeth*, and firſt of King *James*, we may ſee them to a tittle accompliſh'd. Unleſs peradventure ſome will unreaſonably boggle at the circumſtance of time expreſs'd in theſe words (*Paulo ante diem Judicii*) *a little before the day*

day of Judgment. Which yet no man has reaſon to do. Becauſe we know not how near this great day, which ſhall end the World, may be to us at this very preſent. As for that King foretold as coming from the *deſart Mountains of Patric:* there may be occaſion and place enough to ſpeak of him again, that is, hereafter, in the Second Part of this Treatiſe.

But whether from this *Iriſh* Propheſie, either had, as for the ſubſtance, not the exact words of it from *Cambrenſis*, for he pretends not to give to us the exact words: or had perhaps, at leaſt for ſome part of it, from the *Iriſh* themſelves reſorting to *Rome* in thoſe days: the famous *Italian* Prophet of *Calabria*, *Joachimus* Abbot of *Flore*, did foretell in his time the utter deſtruction, and eternal deſolation that was to come upon the *Iriſh* Nation, I cannot ſay. This I know 1. That in all his predictions, all along in his ſeveral Commentaries on *Jeremy*, *Eſay*, the *Apocalyps*, &c. he pretends to divine Revelation. 2. That he lived ſeveral years after the Writings of *Cambrenſis* on *Ireland* had been publick. For *Cambrenſis* dedicated one part of them to *Henry* II. himſelf, who died in the Year of *Chriſt* 1189. and the reſt to his Son *Richard* when yet but Earl of *Poitou*.

Joachimus *Ab. poſt Tract. ſuper cap.* X. Iſaiæ. *Part* 1. *de Oneribus ſexti Temporis.*

And

And *Joachim* was in *Sicily* with *Richard* now King of *England*, and *Philip* King of *France*, both wintring there with their Fleets, *An.* 1190. in their way to the Invasion of the *holy Land*. Nay, I have my self read his submission of his Works to the *See Apostolick*, dated by himself ten years after; which was the Year 1200. of our Saviours Incarnation. 3. That being ask'd, what the success of this great expedition to the *holy Land* against *Saladine* should be? his Answer was, it should prove unsuccessful, and that the time of recovering *Hierusalem* was not yet come. 4. That this prediction of his was punctually true: as appear'd ere long. 5. That his Prophecy of the *old Irish Nation* is in these genuin words you read in the Margin. * which I English thus,

Polydore Virgil. in Ricardo primo.

* *Ex rigoribus horribilis hyemis, & glacialis flatibus Aquilonis, parit Hibernia Incolas furibundos. Sed & sequentium temporum terrores pranoscerent, & internos impetus cogitarent: à facie spiritus Domini ferreum pectus averterent, & se à sempiternis opprobriis liberarent. Sed ex quo invicem vertitur furor aspidum, & involvit tam Clerum quam populum par insultus: non video quod superna Clementia ulterius differat, quin in eos exactissimum judicium acuat, & in stuporem perpetuæ desolationis impellat.— Omnes istos populos Cathedra Dublinienſis astringit. Sed Darensium enormis iniquitas totum defadat ordinem charitatis. Et ideo à planta inquit pedis usque ad verticem capitis non est in eis sanitas* (Isaiæ 1.) *temporalibus molestiis repercussis.* Joachimus *Ab. supra.*

as well I can, or can gueſs at their ſenſe. *Of the colds of horrible Winter, and winds of the icy North,* Ireland *brings forth outragious Inhabitants. But if they had foreknown the terrors of following times, and thought of their inteſtin rage; they would turn away their iron breaſt from the face of Gods anger, and free themſelves from everlaſting reproaches. But ſince their fury of Aſps is turn'd againſt one another, and the ſame violence involves as well the Clergy as the People: I do not ſee that the Clemency of Heaven may (or will) delay to ſharpen the moſt rigorous judgment againſt them, and force them on to the aſtoniſhment of perpetual deſolation.* And this is all that Abbot *Joachim* propheſied of that People. Which indeed I had the curioſity to ſee in his own Works and words: becauſe I heard it by chance ſome twenty years ago much ſpoken of by a Gentleman that read it. Nor has this Prophet a word more of *Ireland*, but only thoſe other few that in the ſame place immediately follow; which yet, I muſt confeſs, I do not underſtand; though perhaps I might afar off gueſs at their meaning, did not the *Latin* word *defædat*, or *Engliſh* of it, make no reaſonable conſtruction at all where it is placed. *All theſe People* (ſays he, ſpeaking of Epiſcopal Dioceſſes) *the See of* Dublin *joyns faſt together. But the iniquity of the* Kildarians (*defædat*) *makes clean the*

whole order of Charity. And therefore (ſays *Eſay*) *from the ſole of the foot unto the top of the head, there is no health in them, being ſtruck anew with their temporal evils.* 6. That albeit his Book aſſerting a *Quaternity* (againſt *Petrus Lombardus* the *Maſter* of the *Sentences* and *Biſhop* of *Paris*, who taught the undivided Unity of one Thing or Eſſence in the Trinity of Perſons) was condemned in the Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent* III. yet ſo was neither himſelf (as who had ſubmitted all his Doctrine to the Apoſtolick See) nor any part of his prophetical Books, wherein this Prophecy of *Ireland* is. 7. And laſtly, That notwithſtanding he be not ſo particular in many circumſtances; as for Example in thoſe either of the Nation of the Invaders, or of the Defence made by the Invaded, or of that King foreſeen coming from the *Deſert Mountains* of *Patrick*, or of the time when the *Engliſh* ſhould be throughly victorious, [*Paulo ante diem Judicii*] *A little before the day of Judgment:* yet, as to the main he is no leſs poſitive than the *Iriſh* prophetical Saints themſelves were, by foretelling the *eternal deſolation of that People:* and that with as much aſſurance as any could who by ſpecial Revelation had been made privy to the immutable *Decree* of the *Watcher* and *Holy one of Heaven* pronounc'd againſt

against them. Which Decree of Heaven (for such it was undoubtedly) on what occasion, by what means, degrees, methods, and for how many Ages it was a putting in execution before the final accomplishment or final effect of it had been atchieved, will be the subject of the Second Part of this little Treatise; but after I have given here one Section more that relates wholly to that ancient People alone, as they were yet a free Nation.

SECT. VI.

Gathelus. Milesius. Briotan *of the posterity of* Nemedus. *New History of* Galfridus *considered.* Ithius *employ'd*, &c. Irish *Language common*, &c. Milesians *in their Antiquity yield somewhat to the* Israelites. Scotia, *lately so called. Errors in page* 18. *and* 19. *Battel 'twixt* Coilus *and* Fergus *a meer story. Again* Geoffrey *of* Monmouth. *The late Histories of* Scotland *examin'd. A true account of* Reuda, *and the* Dal-Reudini. *Descent of* Charles II. *of* Great Britain *from* 81. *Irish Monarchs.* Joannes Scotus Erigena. *The Southern Towers, and Wall*, &c. *First Invasion of the* Danes *on* Ireland, *as recorded by the* French. Hanmer's *History of* Ireland *in very many points reproved. Battel of* Degsestan. *Both* Cambrensis *and* Cambden *out. Again* Cambrensis *refuted.* Aonach Tailtionn. *Unparallel'd Hospitality of the* Ancient Irish. *Beginning and Appropriation of* Meath *by* Tuathal Teachtmhor, *and his four Pallaces. Idolatrous Fires at* Tleaghtghae *and* Visneach. *Error in the* 229 *page. Costly Progress*

greſs of the Kings of Caſhel. *Antiquity and Kings of* Dublin. *Of* Clanna Ruaruidh. *Golden Mines and abundance of Treaſure in* Ireland. *The* Iriſh *Cloiſter at* Reinſburg *in* Germany. Marianus Scotus. Saxon *Abby at* Maio *in* Connaght. *Laſt Parliament held by the* Mileſian *Race. Prophecy of* Malachias. *Hiſtory of the* Staff of Jeſus. *Monaſtery of* Beannchuir. Gallus *and* Columbanus. *Whether an* Interregnum? *Of* Ainmhire *and* Domhnall *two* Iriſh *Monarchs, and* Gildas Badonicus? Reynerus *the* Lvi. *King of* Denmark *dying priſoner in* Ireland. *Kings of the* Heruli, *and Princes of* Biſcay *deſcended of the* Iriſh.

FOR although, according to my firſt deſign, and order of theſe Diſcourſes, and ſequel of things in them all along hitherto, I might now conveniently enough enter upon that Second Part: yet, upon afterthoughts, I judg'd it not amiſs to interpoſe here this one Section more, though it be no other than a Miſcellany, partly of Reflections on ſome things touch'd before, and partly of Additions to them.

42. Wherefore to begin; and becauſe I have in my very firſt entry on theſe Hiſtorical Diſcourſes of *Ireland*, (pag. 5.) alledged *Cambden*, acknowledging that the *Iriſh fetch the*

beginning of their Hiſtories from the moſt profound and remote Records of Antiquity; ſo that in compariſon of them, the Ancientneſs of all other Nations is but Novelty, and as it were a matter of yeſterday: and alſo becauſe in mentioning (page 11) *Clanna Gaodhel*, or poſterity of *Gathelus*, I have ſaid that from him all the *Clanna Mileadh*, or children and poſterity of *Mileſius* deſcended long before either *Mileſius* himſelf or his predeceſſors came into *Spain*: and further, becauſe it may be of ſome uſe elſewhere in this very Section: take here in ſhort out of *D. Keting*, an account as well of ſome memorable paſſages of thoſe *moſt profound remote Records of Antiquity* concerning both *Gathelus* himſelf and his Father *Niull*, and the travels of their poſterity for ſome Ages before any of them arrived in *Spain:* as of the deſcent of *Mileſius* through twenty Generations from *Gathelus*, and 25 in all from *Noe*.

Viz. That *Niull*, a younger ſon to *Feanuſa Farſa* King of *Scythia*, and a moſt learned man, eſpecially in all or moſt of the Languages that not very many Ages before confounded the Builders on the Plain of *Sennaar*, having travail'd into *Egypt*, had for his admired Excellencies not only a large Countrey there, by name *Capacyront* beſtow'd on him for ever by the *Pharaoh* that govern'd

Egypt

Egypt then (*viz. Pharaoh* ſurnamed *Cingeris*, from whoſe name all the following Kings of *Egypt* were call'd *Pharaoh's*, as the Emperours of *Rome* from *Julius Ceſar* were call'd *Ceſars*) but alſo one of this *Pharaohs* own Daughters to Wife, by name or rather ſurname *Scota*, becauſe married to *Niull* a *Scythian*. That of this young Princeſs he begot a Son whom he named *Gaodhel* (the *Latins* call him *Gathelus*) and others ſurnamed *Glas*. That by that time *Gaodhel Glas* had come to be a man, the children of *Iſrael* who had lived ſome Ages before in *Egypt* were grievouſly oppreſſed by the *Egyptians*, and therefore *Moſes* the great Captain of the *Iſaelites* led them to the Banks of the *red* Sea to ſhun the power of *Pharaoh* ſurnamed *Intius* that purſued them. That their Camp in this place being near *Capacyront*, the *Scythian* Prince *Niull* thought himſelf concern'd to accoaſt *Moyſes*, and learn of him the whole ſtory of their Nation and cauſe of their Flight, and whither they tended, and what they expected, *&c.* That having received of *Moyſes* very ample ſatisfaction to all his demands, he offered this great Captain of Gods Army whatever was in his power to ſerve him, but particularly great ſtore of Proviſions, Corn, Cattel, *&c:* and *Moyſes* took this offer ſo well, that although he made no uſe of it, yet he invited *Niull* to go along with him to the Wil-

derneſs, promiſing him a plentiful ſhare in the favours of God to his people, when they came to their journeys end. That upon *Niulls* demurr to this invitation, and going home to his own Houſe, he found his Son *Gathelus* mortally ſtung in the Neck by a Serpent: and this made him return preſently back with him to *Moyſes*; who laying his Wonder working Rod upon the wounded place cured him inſtantly, without any ſign remaining but only a little greeneſs on the skin where the Serpent ſtung, *&c.* That as ſome of the *Iriſh* Chronicles tell, *Geodhell* had his ſurname of *Glas* from this green ſcar on his Neck, which perpetually remained of the ſame colour; *Glas* in *Iriſh*, according to one meaning of the word, importing *green*; tho, as others hold, he had it from the *Chain of Honour* beſtowed upon him, and clasp'd and lock'd upon his Arm by *Moyſes* at the ſame time; for by an other ſignification of that word *Glas*, it imports the very ſame with *Fleaſc*, i.e. *Chain*, from which in that Language they call a Noble Chain-bearer *Fleaſcgach Voaſel:* or yet as ſome do ſay, he had it from his Harneſs and Armour that were all of greeniſh colour. That however or whatever the cauſe of this ſurname was, there is no debate, nor doubt nor queſtion among the *Iriſh* Hiſtorians about the extraordinary bleſſing of *Moyſes* given at the ſame time by him to *Gathelus*, viz. That where-

where ever any of his posterity should settle, the Countrey should be free from all venomous creatures. Which says *Keting* is the reason that not only *Ireland*, but *Creet* also where some of his posterity did settle, is free from such creatures, and that the Relations in St. *Patric*'s Life, of his banishing away out of *Ireland* all Serpents and other poisonous Animals, must be understood not of those that were really but metaphorically such. He means evil Spirits, or Devils that till St. *Patric*'s time had in a special extraordinary manner poison'd and possefs'd that whole Countrey with Magick, Sorcery, Witchcraft, and all kind of Diabolical illusions,

But be this Opinion or metaphorical interpretation of *Keting* as he please, what I am to pursue here is matter of Fact and History out of him without any interpretation. And therefore I am to tell you now, that besides this extraordinary blessing to *Gaodhel*, *Moyses* had so much regard of *Niull*, that he sent a thousand men with him to seize *Pharaohs* Fleet, put him in possession thereof, and bid him stay a ship-board till he had seen what God would do suddenly to *Pharaoh* who pursued them. That after *Niul* had the very next day seen both *Pharaoh* and all his Egyptian Host of Horse and Foot covered under those Waves that immediately before afford-

ed

ed the *Israelites* a dry passage, his fear was over, and therefore he return'd home to his former dwelling in the same Countrey of *Egypt:* where he remain'd in peace till he died, and his posterity after him till the fourth Generation, *i. e.* till the days of *Sruth* his great Grandchild. For *Sruth* was the son of *Easruth*, and *Easruth* of *Gaodhel*, and *Gaodhel* of *Niull*; which in all make four Generations. That in this fourth Generation the *Egyptians* picking several quarrels with them, forc'd them away out of *Egypt.*

Which banishment of them, *Walsingham* in his *Ypodigma Neustriæ ad an.* 1185.--*pag.* 452. in giving an account of *John*, Third Son to *Henry* II. being sent by him to *Ireland*, describes occasionally as you see in this passage. *Joannes filius Regis, a Patre militaribus armis accinctus in Hiberniam est transmissus. Hibernia post Britanniam omnium Insularum est optima. Quæ quamvis Britanniæ dviitiis cedat; latitudine, salubritate, serenitate præstat. Quæ sicut versus Aquilonem brevior est, ita versus meridiem trans illius fines protenditur. Hæc autem propriè patria Scotorum est. Nam sicut legitur, Ægyptiis in mari Rubro submersis, illi qui superfuerunt, expulsunt à se quemdam Nobilem Sciticum, qui degebat apud eos, ne dominium super eos invaderet. Expulsus ille cum familia pervenit ad Hispaniam, ubi & habitavit per annos multos, & progenies ipsius fameliæ suæ multiplicata est nimis. Inde venerunt Hiberniam post annos mille, duobus additis, à transitu filiorum Israel per mare Rubrum. Et de Hibernia pars eorum egressa, tertiam in Britannia Brittonibus & Pictis gentem addiderunt. Pars eorum quæ remansit in Hibernia Hiberni vocabantur, & adhuc eadem utuntur lingua.*

That

That *Sruth*, the foresaid great Grandchild of *Gaodhel*, being their Leader, arrived with his banish'd Company in *Creet*, where he paid his last tribute to Nature, and some of his Company took up for themselves and Issue their Habitation. That *Eibhir Scot*, his eldest Son, leading the rest of them out of *Creet*, arriv'd ere long in *Scythia*, though not very welcom to the posterity of *Neanuill* son to *Feanusa Farsa*. That in the fifth Generation of *Eibher Scot*, one of his descendants, *Taith mhic Daghnon* kill'd his own kinsman the King of that Countrey, by name *Refloir*, the son of *Rifill*, of the progeny of *Neanuill*: and thereupon he and the whole Race of *Gaodhel Glas*, as many as had come thither, or been born there, were forc'd to fly under the leading of *Adhnon* and *Eibher* the two sons of *Adhnamhuin mhic Bedhanmhuin, mhic Eibher Scuit, mhic Sruth, mhic Easruth, mhic Gaoidhel*. That being come to the *Caspian* Sea, they shipp'd, but soon after landed in an Island there, tarried in it a whole year to refresh themselves, and in the mean time buried *Adhnon* one of their Leaders: and his Funeral being over and a twelvemonth of their abode in this place expired, they put again to Sea in three ships, each freighted with sixty persons, and a Woman for every third man (or rather perhaps for every three

three men.) That after some time being weary of their Habitation a ship board, they landed again, and quitting their ships cross'd many Countreys by Land from this *Caspian* Sea to the *Pontic*. That here they shipp'd the third time, but ere long meeting with an Island by name *Caronia*, they put in and remain'd in it fifteen months; where *Eibher mhac Taith*, and *Lamghlas mhac Adhnoin* died. That from hence departing under the Conduct of four Chieftains, whereof *Caichair* the Magician or *Druyd* was one, they arrived at the North end of the *Riphean* Mountains: where the same *Caicheir* prophetically told them *, that neither that place nor any other was design'd for their lasting abode or Habitation till they came to the Western Island which we now call *Ireland:* and that not themselves, but their posterity after them should come to it. That hence again, but under the Command of *Eibher Gluinfhiann* they removed to *Gothia*, where they continued a hundred and fifty years, even to the eighth Generation from *Eibher*, to *Bratha*. For *Bratha*, who led them hence first of

* *Hereby you are to correct what is otherwise said by a mistake* page 13. l. 7. *and* 8. *as if this prediction had been made by* Caicheir *to* Milesius *himself and but some years before; whereas indeed it was made to his Predecessors many Ages before he was born.*

of all to *Spain*, was the ſon of *Deaghatha*, ſon of *Earchadha*, ſon of *Elloit*, ſon of *Nuadhath*, ſon of *Neinuill*, ſon of *Eibhric*, ſon of *Eibher Gluinfhionn*, and conſequently was the eighth Generation from this *Eibher Gluinfhionn*.

That all the Travels of the Progeny of *Gaodhel* were firſt from *Egypt* to *Creet*: from thence to *Scythia*: from thence to *Gothia*: from thence to *South-Spain*, whether the foreſaid *Bratha* led them: and back again, in the perſon of *Galamh* (alias *Mileadh Eſpain*, or *Mileſius* the *Spaniard*) great Grandchild of this *Bratha*, to *Scythia* (as before we have ſeen *page* 12.) and thence alſo again to *Egypt*, and ſo to *Thracia*, and once more to *Gothia*, and thence to *Spain*, till at laſt the ſons of this *Galamh* or *Mileadh* ventur'd for *Ireland*, where they ſet up their propheſied Reſt and long abode ever ſince to this preſent day.

Finally, that *Galamh*, alias *Mileadh*, in Latin *Mileſius* (who married the Daughter of *Pharaoh Nectonibus* king of *Egypt*, and her name alſo or at leaſt ſurname *Scota*, for the ſame or like reaſon to that which gave ſo long before to their great Anceſtor *Niull*'s Wife Daughter to *Pharaoh Cingeris* the ſelf-ſame denomination:) That I ſay this *Galamh*, was the nineteenth Generation from *Gaodhel*

Gaodhel Glas, and the four and Twentieth from *Noah* the Builder of the Ark: as appears by his Pedigree thus: *Mileadh* ſon of *Bile*, ſon to *Breoghuin*, ſon to *Bratha*, ſon to *Deagatha*, ſon to *Earchadha*, ſon to *Alloid*, ſon to *Nuadhadh*, ſon to *Neanuill*, ſon to *Eibhric* or *Eibherglas*, ſon to *Eibher Gluinfhionn*, ſon to *Laimhfhionn*, ſon to *Adhnoin*, ſon to *Taidh*, ſon to *Ogamhuin*, ſon to *Beaomhuinn*, ſon to *Eibher Scot*, ſon to *Struth*, ſon to *Eafruth*, ſon to *Gaodhel Glas*, ſon to *Niull*, ſon to *Feianuſa Farſa*, ſon to *Baath*, ſon to *Magog*, ſon to *Japhet*, ſon to *Noah*, or (as the *Iriſh* call him) *Naoih*.

43. And this, in ſubſtance, is the account which *Keting* has of theſe matters. Though I confeſs there may be read in him a great deal more of that *Scythian* King *Feinuſa Farſa* (Father of *Niull* and Grandfather of *Gaodhel Glas*,) particularly of his great Learning: and the moſt celebrated School kept in thoſe days on the Plain of *Sennaar*: and of his having ſtudied the Sciences and Languages full twenty years in that place: and of his having then employ'd another moſt skilful man by name *Gaodhel*, (but his ſurname was *Etboir*) to compoſe, or at leaſt to refine, adorn, and render copious that Language which ever ſince from his name is call'd *Gaodhelc*, or *Gaodhlec*, I mean the *Iriſh* Lan-

Language. And ſo likewiſe it may be found in D. *Keting*, how it was in remembrance and honour of this *Gathelus* or *Gaothel Eithoir*, the Author, or at leaſt Refiner of the *Iriſh* Tongue; that *Feinuſa Farſa*'s foreſaid Brother *Niull* in *Egypt* gave his firſt-born Child the ſelf-ſame denomination or name of *Gaodhel* (alias *Gathelus*) tho ſufficiently diſtinguiſh'd after by the addition of his ſurname *Glas*. But enough of theſe *profound remote Antiquities*, as *Cambden* calls 'em. And yet I am confident they may be far more eaſily believed by ſome and paſs'd over by others, than oppos'd, at leaſt diſprov'd by any; yea notwithſtanding the names of *Capacyront* in *Egypt*, and *Caronia* in the *Pontick* Sea, and the Fleet of *Pharaoh*, in the red Sea, ſeized by a thouſand of the unarmed *Iſraelits*, * and put under the Command of *Niull*. That I may ſay nothing at all, or ſcruple or boggle either at the

* *See* Joſephus 3. Book of Antiqu. c. 6. *where he tells us expreſly, that all the* Iſraelites *were diſarmed when* Pharaoh *purſued them; though after that his ſix hundred Chariots and fifty thouſand Horſe and two hundred thouſand armed Footmen were drown'd in the Red Sea, and the Tide had thrown up their Arms on the other Bank where the* Iſraelites *were ſafely arrived, they armed themſelves ſufficiently.*

two

two *Scotas*, Daughters to those two Kings of *Ægypt*, as already you have seen, or at the two *Scythian* Kings of the same name *Reflair*, and both kill'd by the Progeny of *Gaodhel Glas*; the first of them by *Taith mhac Dagh-non*; and the second, at least two hundred years after by *Milesius* himself, as may be remembred out of the 12th *page* before. But leaving the judgment hereof to the Reader:

44. I proceed to my next Reflection, which must be on *page* 8 and 9. There you are told, "How the children or posterity of *Ne-*"*medus*, (the *Irish* call 'em *Clanna Neimheadh*) "to avoid a dreadful and continual pestilence "of many years, departing in a thousand "Vessels, great and small, under the Con-"duct of three Chieftains, *Simeon Breac*, *Ib-*"*aath*, and *Briotan*, the other two sailing to "*Greece*, *Briotan* with his adherents landed in "the North of that Countrey, which we now "call *Scotland*, and with his and their poste-"rity remaining there, gave the denomination "of *Brittain* to this whole Island (which is "now called *Great Brittain*) as holy *Cormac*, the "King of *Mounster* and Bishop of *Cashel*, in his "*Psalter* of *Cashael*, together with all the "Chronologers of *Ireland* affirm. You are "also told that surely in this particular these "*Irish* Chronologers have at least much more "probability of their side, than any late Au-

"thors

"thors have, that derive that name (of *Brit-*
"*tain*) from *Brutus*, or his Romantick Hi-
"ſtory in *Galfridus*, or in any other. Laſt-
"ly, you find this Queſtion immediately fol-
"lows, For if from *Brutus*, beſides other rea-
"ſons, why not *Brutannia* rather than *Bri-*
"*tannia*.

Though in this whole paſſage I follow'd my Author *Keting*; and particularly for this Queſtion put in the laſt place, or at leaſt for the reaſon involv'd therein, I might alſo have alledg'd *Polydore Virgil*, who makes uſe of the ſame reaſon againſt the derivation of *Brittannia* from *Brutus*: yet having ſince conſulted the learned *Cambden*'s moſt accurat ſearch into theſe matters; though he has not a word of the *Iriſh* Hiſtory of *Briotan*, nor ſeems ever to have heard thereof: I find nevertheleſs there may be very probable anſwers given out of him to that queſtion put by me after *Polydore* and *Keting*. And therefore I now decline it, tho not the Hiſtory it ſelf of that *Scythic Briotan*'s giving the denomination of *Brittain* to this whole Iſland, otherwiſe (and whether before or after his time firſt of all, it matters not) called *Albion*. As for *Abraham Wheloc*'s Saxon Annotations on *Bedes* Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (*l.* 1. *c.* 1. *pag.* 25.) where it is ob-

Polydor. Hiſtor. Ang. l. 1.

ſerved that this Iſland was called *Brutaine* and *Brutannia* from the name of *Brutus:* I am not moved thereby, becauſe the *Saxons* had that name from the *Britons* themſelves, and the *Britons* though they write it *Brutaine*, with *u*, yet pronounce it *Brittain* with an *i*. as I am told, by men skilful in their Tongue, they commonly do in other words written with *u*. pronounce i. However I am content to acknowledg here, that in putting the foreſaid queſtion, I ſuppos'd more than I ought, and that I paſs'd over in ſilence for a worſe, the far better and more probable reaſons, nay the convincing reaſons indeed. What theſe are, you may ſee at large in *Buchanan*, and before him, ſufficiently enough, for ſome part of them, in *Polydore:* who, both the one and the other, demonſtrate the whole ſtory of *Brutus* to be a meer Fiction; though *Henry* of *Huntingdon*, and the Author of *Polychronicon* (otherwiſe reputed good Hiſtorians) thought fit to recommend to all poſterity the Fable, out of *Geffrey* of *Monmouth*, as an undoubted Truth. However we are told (I am ſure by *Geffrey*, for I have him by me) That *Brutus* was ſon to *Silvius*, the ſon of *Aſcanius*, whom undoubted Monuments of Antiquity aſſure us to have been ſon to *Æneas*, and Founder of *Alba* on *Tiber*, and Third King of the *Latius*. That this very *Brutus* at the Age of ſixteen having by chance

chance in hunting the Deer, kill'd his ſaid Father King *Aſcanius*, and being therefore baniſh'd *Italy* went to *Greece*. That here aſſembling together ſeven thouſand *Trojans* deſcended from thoſe who had been brought priſoners thither when *Troy* was burn'd, and heading them, he made War on *Pandraſus*, the King of *Greece*, defeated his Armies, forc'd his Towns and took himſelf Priſoner, and kept him ſo till by mutual agreement *Ignoge* the Princeſs, Daughter to this King, was given him to Wife, and for a Portion with her beſides a great maſs of Gold and Silver, a ſtrong Fleet of three hundred and four and twenty ſail, well provided of all kind of neceſſaries. That now putting to Sea with his *Trojans* and ſo great a Fleet, to ſeek his Fortune elſewhere, and coming to a deſert Iſland by name *Largecia*, the Oracle of *Diana* there admoniſh'd him to ſteer his courſe for *Albion*. That in his way thither beſides deſtroying a Fleet of Pirats that ſet on him at Sea, and ſpoiling all *Mauritania* in *Afric* from end to end, landing in *France*, he firſt overthrew in Battel *Groffarius* the *Pictiſh* King of *Aquitain*, plunder'd his Towns, over-run his whole Countrey: and then again in a ſecond mighty Battel defeated both the ſame *Groffarius* and all the other eleven Kings of *France* with their Forces. That having perform'd

theſe Wonders there, he ſet ſail for *Albion*, which was inhabited then by Giants. [Theſe were a prodigious Race of Monſters, ſome of them twelve Cubits high, and all of them, or at leaſt their Predeceſſours before 'em, begot by *Incubi*, i. e. Fayery Devils, on the thirty Daughters of *Diocleſian* King of *Syria* and his Wife *Labana*, who the firſt night of their marriage kill'd their thirty Husbands: and for that cauſe being forc'd to Sea by their ſaid Father, in a ſhip without Mariners or Pilot, after long wandring and hovering, arrived at laſt in *Albion*, a meer Deſart then. Where it ſeems notwithſtanding they were provided for by thoſe wicked Aery Dæmons that lay with them and procreated of them this horrible Race of Giants.] That upon his landing here, at a place called *Totnes*, where all the Giants were in a body to hinder his deſcent, he fought them, overthrew them, purſued 'em all over the Iſland, deſtroyed them utterly every where. That having done ſo, he divided the whole Countrey among his Followers; gave them the name of *Britons*, and to it

See Buchanan *l.* 2. *page* 43. (Impreſ. Amſterd, *anno* 1643.) *where he gives an account of this, no leſs ill-contrived than* Monſtrous *Fable, added by ſome later Author than* Geoffrey *of* Monmouth, *as if* Geoffrey *himſelf had not ſtore enough of indeed very ſtupendious Lyes.*

it that of *Brittain*, from his own name both: then begot Children, especially three, by name *Locrinus*, *Albanactus*, and *Camber*: then built the famous City of *new Troy* (since called *London* by corruption of the word *Luds Town*, because one of his posterity, King *Lud* not only repair'd it, but strengthened it with a Wall and Towers and Bulwarks:) and then, last of all, before his death, making three Royal Divisions of *Brittain*, and erecting each into a Kingdom, bestow'd the first of them, together with the supreme sovereignty of the other two in some cases, on his eldest son *Locrinus*, called then from his name *Loegria* (by us now *England*:) the second on his second son *Albanactus*, from whose name 'twas called *Albania*, though *Scotland* after: and on his third son *Camber* the third of those Divisions, termed likewise from his name *Cambria*, comprehending at that time not only the Countrey now called *Wales*, but whatever is on that side of the *Severn*. That by these brave Princes and their issue after 'em the Noble Cities of *York*, *Edenburg*, *Carlisle*, *Canterbury*, *Winchester*, *Shaftsbury*, *Bath*, *Leicester*, the Tower of *London*, *Westchester*, and *Caer-Leon* upon *Usk*, were from the foundations built and finish'd, and the *Brittish* Nation and Kingdom most gloriously maintained at home and enlarg'd abroad even in the very

Continent, well-nigh all over *Europe*. That not only *Ebrancus* (the V. King of *Great Britain* after *Brutus*, and Builder of *York*) with a numerous Fleet invaded *France*, ranſack'd it all over, and return'd home triumphantly with the richeſt ſpoils thereof: nor only his twenty ſons (which he had by twenty ſeveral Wives) conquer'd all *Germany* under the command of one of themſelves called *Aſſaracus*, and poſſeſs'd it a long time after: but *Belinus* and *Brennus*, ſons to *Dunvallo Mulmutius* (the Nineteenth King, as *Belinus* himſelf was the XX.) made an abſolute Conqueſt, firſt of all the Kingdom of *Gaul*, now called *France*, and ſoon after of all *Italy*; not *Rome* it ſelf excepted, which they took and burnt to aſhes. That *Caſſibel'anus* (the Lxv. of the *Britiſh* Monarchs,) when *Julius Cæſar* invaded them, at two ſeveral times, fought him, defeated him both times, and the ſecond time made him fly to *France* in ſuch deſpair that he never more return'd. That in like manner *Claudius* the *Roman* Emperour, though come in perſon with a mighty power of Legions and Auxiliaries into *Britain*, found it his ſafeſt way to run away in two great Battels, from the victorious Army of *Guiderius* and *Arviragus* (the Lxvii. and Lxviii. *Britiſh* Monarchs one after another): in ſo much that *Claudius* was content at laſt

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'een fairly to capitulate for Peace with *Arviragus*, by ſending to *Rome* for his own Daughter *Genniſſa*, and giving her in marriage to him, nay and leaving him too the Government wholly of all theſe Provincial Iſlands; for ſo *Geoffrey* calls them in this place. That *Severus*, how great ſoever both a Souldier and Emperour he was, found it a deſperate buſineſs to fight in *Great Brittain* againſt the *Brittons*, when he ſaw himſelf receiving his death's wound from *Fulgenius* in that Battel, whence he was carried dead and buried in *York*. That under *Vortigern* their Lxxxvi. Monarch, *Hengiſtus* the Saxon, invited in by him, landed the ſecond time in *Great Brittain*, with an Army of three hundred thouſand Heathen Foreigners: and yet *Aurelius Ambroſius* (the next *Britiſh* King after *Vortigern*) fought him in the head of all his formidable Forces, and in a plain Field overthrew both him and them all, nay purſued them in their Flight till he reduced them to nothing, and the whole Iſland of *Brittain* to its native liberty from any Foreign Yoak. Nor had his Victories a period here, but over-run *Ireland* alſo; where he took Priſoner, in a great Battel, the Monarch of that Countrey, *Gillomar*; and then brought away *Choream Gigantum*, the Giants Monument of ſtones, from the Plains of *Kildare* in that

Kingdom, which he ſet up on *Salisbury* Plains in *England*. That *Arthur*, who was likewiſe, ſave one, the next King of *Great Brittain* (for he was ſon to *Uter Pendragon* that Reign'd immediately before him) ſubdued all *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, the Iſles of *Orkney*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Gothland*, along to *Livonia*, *France*, and as many Kingdoms in all as made up XXX. Yea moreover, *i. e*, after ſo many great and mighty Conqueſts, and beſides the killing too of Monſters and Giants, fought even *Flollo* and *Lucius* the two Lieutenant Generals of the *Roman* Emperour *Leo*, kill'd them both in *France*, and the later of them (I mean *Lucius*) in the head of a dreadful Army conſiſting of four hundred thouſand men; all which he overthrew and ruin'd. That although by occaſion of ſome unhappy quarrels among the *Britons* themſelves under *Catericus* their Lxxxxvi. King, a bad man, the *Saxons* to be reveng'd on them, wrought King *Gurmundus* the late *African* Conqueror of *Ireland*, to come from thence into *Great Brittain* with an Army of a hundred ſixty ſix thouſand Heathen *Africans*, and burn, ſpoil and deſtroy the better parts thereof, and after put and leave the *Saxons* in poſſeſſion of all he could; which was that whole Countrey then called *Loegria*, now *England*, as diſtinguiſh'd

guiſh'd both from *Scotland* and *Wales*: meaning by *Wales* the ancient Kingdom of *Cambria* which comprehended all beyond the *Savern*: and that notwithſtanding the *Saxons* had by ſuch means got poſſeſſion of all *Loegria*, and held it for ſeveral years, they were beat out again ſo ſoon as the *Britons* agreed amongſt themſelves, meeting at *Weſtchester* and chuſing there *Caduallo* for their King; who bravely recovered the whole Iſland every way round even to the four Seas, and kept both *Picts* and *Scots*, and ſuch of the *Saxons* as were left alive or permitted to ſtay in perfect obedience to the *Britiſh* Crown during his own Reign, which laſted forty years in all: and that ſo did *Cadwallador* after him during his. In ſhort, that as the progeny of *Brute* continued free, independent, ſucceſsful, glorious in the firſt period of their Monarchy under ſixty ſix Kings of their own, during at leaſt a thouſand years and forty, from the landing of *Brute* till the Invaſion of *Julius Cæſar*: and as for the next period, which took up five hundred and nine years more, till the landing of *Hengiſtus* the *Saxon*, albeit the *Roman* power and glory did ſometimes leſſen, ſometime ecclipſe theirs: yet they preſerved ſtill their freedom, and Laws, and Government under twenty other Kings of their *Britiſh* Nation, ſucceſſively reigning o-

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ver them, and paying only a ſlight acknowledgment of ſome little tribute to the *Roman* Emperours; nay and this ſame but now and then, very ſeldom: ſo in the third or laſt period of it; containing ſomewhat above two hundred and fifty years, from the ſaid landing of *Hengiſtus* to the twelfth year of *Cadwallador*, they upon the *Romans* quitting them, not only reſtor'd themſelves, under *Aurelius* and *Arthur*, by their own ſole valour, to the ancient glory of their Dominion; but, maugre all the oppoſition of the Confederated *Saxons*, *Picts* and *Scots*, now and then rebelling againſt them, enjoyed it under the ſucceſſion of ſeven *Britiſh* Kings more, from *Arthur* to *Cadwallador*; yea *Malgo*, the fourth of this very laſt number, when the ſix foreign *Provincial* Countreys (as *Geoffrey* calls them) *viz. Ireland*, *Iſland*, the *Orcades*, *Norway*, *Denmark*, and *Gothia*, had rebell'd anew, was ſo fortunately brave, as by dint of Sword to have reduced them all again to their old ſubjection under *Great Brittains* Empire.

Add moreover, that *Cadwallador* himſelf, albeit the laſt of this *Trojan* Race wielding the Scepter of Great *Brutus*, enjoyed the ſame Glorious Power that his Predeceſſours had before him over the whole extent of this Noble Iſland. That the total change and utter downfal of the *Britiſh* Government, happening

pening after in his days, proceeded only from an abſolute Decree of Heaven and mighty Anger of God incenſed againſt the *Brittons* for their ſins; but neither in the whole nor in part, from any Power of the *Saxons* or other Enemies or men upon Earth.

That the immediate viſible means, which God made uſe of to deſtroy them irrecoverably were 1. A moſt bloody fatal Diviſion (after ſome years of this *Cadwallador*'s reign) happening among them, yea continuing ſo long and to ſuch a degree, that between both ſides all the fruitful Fields were laid waſte; no man caring to till the ground. 2. The conſequence of this waſte, a cruel Famine over all the Land. 3. A Plague ſo prodigiouſly raging, that the number of the Living was not ſufficient to bury the Dead.

That the Almighty's hand lying ſo heavy on them by ſo dreadful a Peſtilence, was it alone that forc'd *Cadwallador* in the twelfth year of his Reign to retire for ſome time into Little *Britanny* in *France*. That after ten years more when this Epidemical Plague had been wholly over, and *Cadwallador* prepared to ſhip his Army and return, a voice of Thunder by Angelical Miniſtery ſpake to him from Heaven, commanding him aloud to deſiſt from his Enterprize, and telling him in plain terms, it was decreed above unalterably, The Race of

of *Brutus* ſhould bear no more ſway in *Great Brittain* till the time were come which *Merlin* had prophecied of to King *Arthur*. And, to conclude all, That in pure obedience to this Voice of God, it was that *Cadwallador*, giving over his deſigned return, and inſtead thereof going to *Rome*, and ſoon after dying there (upon the 12th of the Calends of *May*, in the Year of our Lord 689) left his Countrey a prey to the *Saxons*, who till then could never ſubdue it, nor prevail againſt the *Britons*; but were themſelves always overthrown, and forc'd all along e'n by ſo many *Britiſh* Kings in ſucceſſion from *Aurelius* and *Arthur* to *Caduallo*, either to fly the Land, or ſubmit to their mercy.

All which in ſubſtance, and much more at large we are told by *Geoffrey* *

* Galfridus Monumetenſis *in his Latin Hiſtory* de Origine & Geſtis Britannorum, *printed at* Paris *by* Aſcenſius Badius, *Anno* 1517.

But the fourth Book of this Romantick ſtory is wholly taken up with the deceitful Prophecies of Merlin, *though Prophecies much augmented (ſays* Neubrigenſis) *by additions of* Geoffrey's *own inventive Brain, which he foiſted in as* Merlin's. *Nor has been aſhamed to endeavour to make us believe that* Merlin *was a great and wonderful and true Prophet indeed; yea notwithſtanding that* Merlin's *own Mother confeſſed him to be the Son of an* Incubus *Devil. See* Galfridus *himſelf*, l. 3. c. 3.

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of *Monmouth* in his ſeven Books of Hiſtory, and out of him by others. Only (beſides my ſumming up the number of Kings, and fixing the period of times, and contracting the whole ſtory, and digeſting it into this order and Method) give me leave to except the particular of *Diocleſian* the *Syrian* King's thirty Daughters, and the *Incubi* Devils, with their Gigantic procreation. For this I had from *Buchanan*'s relation of it (*l.* 2. *Rer. Scot.*) as added by ſome others to ſupply a defect of ſo much in the new Hiſtory of *Galfridus*.

45. But as *William* of *Newbery* (commonly called in Latin, *Neubrigenſis*) this *Geoffrey*'s own Contemporary in *England*, has (in *Proemio Hiſtor.*) five hundred years ſince reflected with much freedom and tartneſs on the Vanity, incredibility, and falſity of his Hiſtory in general, and more particularly on that part of it which repreſents King *Arthur* ſuch a wonderful Heroe: ſo has in later times *Polydore Virgil* firſt, and after him *George Buchanan* ruin'd the very foundation of the whole Fabrick; I mean, the very Being or Exiſtence of *Brute* himſelf at any time on Earth. And certainly, in my opinion, the reaſons of *Polydore* ſeem convincing enough to any unbyaſs'd man. For, ſays he (*l.* 2. *Hiſtor. Anglic.*) neither *Titus Livius*, nor *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, nor any of thoſe other Authors that

that moſt diligently write of *Roman* Antiquities have one ſyllable of this *Brutus*. Nor could any thing concerning ſo much as either his Name or Exiſtence be fetch'd from the ancient Annals of *Great Brittain:* ſeeing that five hundred years, or thereabouts, before this new Hiſtory of *Galfridus* had been contriv'd, *Gildas* (I mean the true, and not the ſuppoſititious one) complain'd, that if ever the ancient *Britons* his Countrey-men, had any ſuch or other *Annals* at all, they were undoubtedly either periſh'd in the War at home, or carried away ſo far abroad as no news could be had of them. Beſides, the particular of the taking of *Rome* by *Belinus* and *Brennus* quite over-throws all both Fabrick and foundation of this New Hiſtory, if we compute the times ſet down in it, and compare them with thoſe in the *Greek* and *Roman* Chronicles. For in this New Hiſtory not only *Brute* is ſaid to have conquer'd *Albion* about the tenth year after his Father *Silvius* had been kill'd, which was the year of the World 4100; but the two Brothers *Belinus* and *Brennus* (ſons to *Molmutius* the XX. King, and they the XXI. Generation from *Brute*) are ſaid to have taken *Rome* about four hundred years after the ſame *Brute* had conquer'd this Iſland. And yet according to the Epitome or account of times both

in

in *Euſebius* and all other as well *Greek* as *Latin* Hiſtories, *Rome* was taken by *Brennus* and his *Gauls* even after full ſeven hundred years and ten had been over from the foreſaid year wherein *Brute* is ſaid by the new Hiſtory to have enter'd *Albion*. So that by this new Hiſtory *Brennus* muſt have taken *Rome* three hundred and ten years before it was really taken at all. Then which, I think, nothing can be deſired more convincing to ruin both the Fabrick and foundation of this Romance of *Brute*. And ſo in effect has *Polydore* thought before me.

But if you would have more, yea many more unanſwerable arguments on this Subject: you may conſult *George Buchanan* where he has them at large, *L.* 2. *Hiſtor. Scot.* For, as it ought to be no part of my purpoſe here to compare or confront ſo many, or indeed any of thoſe vain particulars in the new Hiſtory of *Brute*, either with the Commentaries of *Cæſar*, or *Annals* and Hiſtory of *Tacitus*, or his Life of *Agricola*, or Venerable *Bedes* Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the *Engliſh*, or the *Saxon* Chronology publiſh'd by *Wheloc*, or the moſt ancient Monuments of the *Iriſh*, or any other ſacred or profane of ſo many other Kingdoms of *Europe*, or with Reaſon it ſelf: ſo it is neither any part of it, to dilate or give thoſe manifold arguments of

Buchanan

Buchanan, though they be directly home againſt the very foundation of the ſame new Hiſtory, or the Being or Exiſtence at any time of *Brute*.

It ſufficeth me in this place to have given the reaſons of *Polydore* againſt it. My purpoſe here being no other, than (in relation to the above paſſage in my *eighth* and *ninth page*) to conclude out of all, That the *Iriſh* Cronologers and Hiſtorians *have at leaſt much more probability* on their ſide in aſſerting unanimouſly that their true *Briotan* who deſcended of *Nemedus*, and planted a Colony in the North part of this great Iſland ſo early, was he that gave the whole Iſland the denomination of *Brittain* from his own name, than they on the other ſide have, who, if the arguments hitherto be concluſive, tell us in effect, that a falſe and forged *Brutus*, one that never was in Being ſhould have given it.

And indeed, the Authority of the *Iriſh* Monuments in the *Pſalter of Caſhel*, an authentick Book of *Iriſh Hiſtories*, written above eight hundred years ſince by ſo great and knowing and holy a man as *Cormack*; who was at the ſame time both King and Biſhop of *Mounſter*: and the further derivation of the more remote Antiquities inſerted in it from that other Book much more ancient yet, which

which above one thouſand two hundred years ſince, in the compoſing or collecting of it out of all the former Chronicles of that Nation, from the very firſt Plantations of it, had been, in the Parliament or National Aſſembly of all the Eſtates at *Tarach* under *Laogiri* the Monarch, ſuperviſed and agreed upon by the choiceſt Committee they could appoint of three Antiquaries, three Kings and three Biſhops, whereof S. *Patrick* himſelf was one, over-ballances by much the credit of *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* in his new Hiſtory of *Brutus*, written by him no earlier than *Henry* II. Reign, and oppoſed, nay quite run down by his own Contemporaries ſo ſoon as it came out.

Which notwithſtanding, and whatever elſe I have given any where in this *Reflection*, on my own foreſaid eighth and ninth *page*, I deſire may be underſtood by the Reader, as I intended it, *i. e.* without any prejudice or diminution of the great and known both Antiquity and bravery of the *Britiſh* Nation, whenceſoever they have truly derived the name of *Brittons* for themſelves, or that of *Brittain* for their Countrey. Of the former, I mean their Antiquity, *Julius Cæſar* is a witneſs beyond exception, where he ſpeaks in his *Commentaries* (L. v.) of the inland people of *Brittain*, as if they had been *Aborigenes*, without any derivation from elſewhere abroad; *quos na-*

tos in Inſula, memoria proditum dicunt, ſays he. Of the later, both *Tacitus* and *Beda*, Writers no leſs unexceptionable, have recorded to Poſterity very conſiderable Inſtances. The one, in his *Annals* and *Hiſtory*, and *Agricola's Life*, telling their fierce Fights, and ſometimes their ſucceſſes too againſt the *Roman* Generals, in their own Countrey *Great Britain*. The other, in his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* of *England*, acknowledging ſeveral great Victories had by them both in the ſame Iſland their own Countrey over his Countreymen the *Saxons* that invaded them; nay, particularly telling us (in the 16th *chap.* of his *Firſt Book*) of two very ſpecial Victories, the firſt under the leading of *Aurelius Ambroſius*, the ſecond in *Blackmore* about that place, where *Scarborough Caſtle* is now, called by *Polidore* in his Hiſtory *Mons Badonicus*: adding withal, that after the firſt overthrow given by them, although ſometimes worſted, yet they continued the War with great reſolution, worſting alſo not ſeldom their Foes, until at laſt they hem'd them in about the ſaid Hill or Mountain *Badonicus*, and made a mighty ſlaughter of them there. Which happened, ſays *Bede* in the forty fourth year after the firſt landing of the *Saxons*. Above all, the Defence made by the Reliques of them in *Wales*, after their Kingdom had been utterly deſtroy'd

ſtroy'd upon *Cadwallador*'s withdrawing to *France*, yea made and continued by them for ſeven hundred years, and their fighting ſo long for their Liberty, againſt the *Saxons* firſt, and *Normans* after, till they obtain'd honourable Conditions at laſt from *Edward* I. are ſufficient arguments of their Martial Spirit and brave Souls, however Fortune frown'd upon them.

And as I ought to be ſo ingenuous in acknowledging what I have now done concerning that Nation in general: ſo likewiſe, in reference to *Jeffry* himſelf, I will be ſo juſt as to acknowledg what he ſays of the hand of God that lay ſo heavy upon them at laſt, even to their utter deſtruction, by the mortal Feuds and cruel Famine, and moſt deſtructive of all the Peſtilence that follow'd. For beſides this one particular of thoſe three heavy ſcourges from God, which I muſt confeſs are atteſted by *V. Bede* himſelf (*l.* 1. *cap.* 12, & 14.) there is little elſe of truth to be acknowledg'd in the whole Summary given before, of that Romantick Hiſtory of *Galfridus*. Tho *Richard White* of *Baſingſtoke* has in our days written and printed a *Latin* Hiſtory of his own, purſuing in moſt particulars the good Example given by him: and to make it the more known, has prefix'd unto it an Epiſtle Dedicatory to *Albertus* Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, &c.

45. In my 13. *page* I ſpake ſomewhat of the cauſes moving the eight ſons of *Mileſius*, after his death, to think ſeriouſly of invading *Ireland*. But I might have added, How their conſultation about this matter was held in *Breoghuin*'s Tower in *Gallicia*. How it was from thence they employ'd *Ith* (or *Ithius*) their Uncle on the Father's ſide (as being ſon to *Breoghuin* their great Grandfather) in a ſhip well provided, and man'd with a hundred and fifty ſtout Soldiers, to diſcover the ſtate of *Ireland*. How *Ith* having landed in *Mounſter*, and there underſtood that *Cearmada*'s three ſons, who as three Kings rul'ed *Ireland* alternatively, were together at *Oileach Neidh* in the North, but at ſome difference among themſelves about the Jewels of their Anceſtors, went thither by Land, accompanied with a hundred of his men; the ſhip ſailing about with the reſt to meet him there. How being come to *Oileach*, and honourably received by the ſons of *Cearmada*, and, becauſe he was a ſtranger and conſequently indifferent in their diſpute, being choſen Arbitrator of it, he decided their quarrel to all their ſatisfaction: firſt by dividing the Jewels equally betwixt them: and then exhorting them to mutual love and peace: adding withal very much in praiſe of their delightſom plentiful Countrey. How when he had taken

leave

leave of them to return to his ſhip for *Spain*, the eldeſt of the Three reflecting on the high praiſes he gave the Land, and fearing his deſign ſhould be to bring others to invade them, breaks his jealouſie to the other two, and with their conſent and ſome armed Troops purſues *Ith*, overtakes him, fights him, routs his men, wounds himſelf deadly, and leaves him in that condition of a dead man groveling on the Earth at a place called from that Fight and his Name *Magh Ith*. How the few ſurvivers of his men headed by his own ſon carried away his body a ſhipboard, where he died of his wounds; but they nevertheleſs arrived in *Spain*, and coming to their Couſins the eighth Brothers, expoſed it before them all, of purpoſe to excite and haſten their revenge. And in the laſt place, how that although as well theſe as thoſe, *i. e.* all the *Mileſians* in general, and their Couſins and adherents made this killing, or this murder, (which you pleaſe to call it) committed on the ſaid *Ithius* and his men, the pretence of their Invaſion and War, and conſequently of the juſtice of their quarrel, and following Conqueſt of that Countrey by them: yet the whole Hiſtory makes it plain, That 'twas no other indeed but a meer pretence: being *Ithius* went thither as a meer Spy to diſcover the Countrey: and that they were

resolved to invade it upon their return, whether he had or had not met with any injury or pretence of injury there. All which I note of purpose here: because it may be usefully in the second Part of this Treatise, on another occasion, related to again.

46. In the mean while, and in this very place, the Reader will give me leave to observe a thing that may prevent some question or some admiration about the sons of *Cearmada* chusing *Ithius* their Arbitrator. For it may be peradventure ask'd, how they understood one another? or what Language did he or they speak their sentiments in? or was it by Interpreters they Discours'd? *&c.* But the *Irish* Historians prevent such demands by telling us, that all the several Invasions of *Ireland* (only the first plantation of it by *Ciocal*, which properly was no Invasion, excepted) whether by *Partholan*, or *Neimhedh*, or *Fear-a-bolg*, or *Tuath-De-Danan*, were by *Scythians*, descended from *Japhet*, who for their Language had the *Irish* Tongue (*Gaodhlec*, as 'tis called originally by it self) common to them all, no less than the *Milesians* themselves and all other *Gathelians* whatsoever had the same very speech their Mother Tongue though with some difference in the Dialect. So that only those I called once the *Aborigenes* of *Ireland*, I mean the progeny of *Ciocal*

Ciocal and his followers descended from the accursed *Cham*, and come out of *Africk*, had another peculiar Language of their own.

57. Though I have *page* 15. said, the Antiquity of the *Milesian Irish* to be no-where parallel'd, if not peradventure among the *Chinese's* only, *&c.* I hope no man will understand me so, as to think I would not have still excepted the Children of *Israel*, had I feared that any would entertain such a thought of my meaning as would need the exception. I am sure none could justly do so, that pleas'd to consider what I said before, *page* 5. *viz.* That the *Milesians* had not before two hundred eighty three years after *Moses*'s passing the *Red* Sea landed in *Ireland*. For until then, whatever they were called, it is plain they could not be called *Irish*, because this name they derived from that Island where they never lived before this time. And 'tis no less plain that before this time the Children of *Israel* had, as a free and brave and conquering Nation, inhabited *Palestin*, at least two hundred and forty years: had also lived forty years in the Wilderness: and before that too, had been a great numerous people in *Egypt*, where they lived in all, from the descent of *Jacob* out of *Canaan* thither, till their departure under *Moses*, through the *Red* Sea, two hundred and fifteen years, (as *Jose-*

Phus expresly tells in his *Antiq. L.* iii. *c.* vi.) though under great bondage for some part thereof. And therefore to them or their ancientness I could not intend to compare that of the *Milesians*, nor as now become *Irish*, no nor as *Gathelians* neither. For *Gathelus* himself the original stock of all the *Gathelians*, and consequently of the *Milesians*, being these were only a branch of those, was but a youth in *Egypt* with his Father *Niull* when *Moses* cross'd the *Red* Sea, as we have lately seen at large.

48. Yet in the 18th Page, I must confess there is an Errour committed, by saying that the six sons of *Muredus* (alias, in *Irish*, *Muiriach*) King of *Ulster* went to *Scotland* under the Monarchy of *Laegirius* (or *Laoghaire*) King of *Ireland*. But I have corrected it, *page* 93. where you read, it was in the Twentieth year of this Monarch's Successor and son *Lugha*, they invaded *Scotland*.

49. Whether *Niall Naoighiallach* did, or did not order *Albania* to be call'd *Scotia*, as *Keting* says he did (whereof see the same 18th *page*:) you are nevertheless to know, that the most eminent Antiquary *Primat Usher* hath sufficiently evinc'd (*de Primord.* page 784.) That as neither *Dalrieda* nor *Argathelia* (alias *Argyle*) though the proper Seat of the *Scots* inhabiting *Brittain* until the year 840. so neither

neither the whole Countrey of *Albania*, even after that year, had ever been called *Scotia* by any Writer, until about the year of Christ 1100. when both Nations, I mean the *Picts* and *Scots*, were come by degrees to make one people. And that *Marianus Scotus*, who flourish'd at that time was one of the very first Authors that call'd it by this name of *Scotia*. Where you are further to observe, that according to this most learned Primat's account of the confinement of the foresaid *Scots* to their ancient Dominions of *Dalriada* and *Argyle*, it was the year of Christ 840. before they had inlarged themselves by overthrowing and subduing the whole Kingdom of the *Picts*. Which is a hundred years later than my account of this matter out of *Cambden*, in my said 18. Page.

50. *Page* 19. where I supposed, that the Nine several Countreys or Nations forc'd to deliver every one of them Hostages to *Niall* the Great (otherwise, and from the nine several sorts of Hostages, surnam'd in *Irish Naoighiallach*, in Latin *Noui-Obsis*) were only the five Provinces of *Ireland*, and the distinct Dominions of the *Dal-Rheudans*, *Picts*, and other Inhabitants of that Countrey we now call *Scotland:* there I follow'd *Keting*. But after having lighted on the Author of *Cambrensis Eversus*, and found in him That the

the great *Irish* Antiquary *Joannes Colganus* in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, * had otherwise counted those nine Countreys and Nations: I thought fit, as occasion was offered *page* 221. to count or give them as he did, *viz.* *Mounster*, *Leinster*, *Connaght*, *Ulster*, the *Britons*, *Picts*, *Dal-Rheudans*, *Saxons*, and *Morini* (a People of *France* towards *Calice* and *Picardy*.) For the word *Saxons* is in the said later *page* omitted through the Printers fault. And yet I cannot but acknowledg, that if *Niall* the *Great* had any Hostages from the *Saxons*, he must either have taken 'em at Sea, or from the Coasts of *Germany*, the Higher or Lower, but by no means from *Great Brittain*. Because *Niall* was kill'd in *France*, *anno Dom.* 405. as the foresaid Author of *Cambr. Euers.* *Gratianus Lucius* himself does write in the short Account he gives of this Monarchs Reign: and the *Saxons* were not come into *Great Brittain* before the year of Christ 440. (as *Polydore Virgil*, in his Reign of *Vortigern* says) that is forty four years after the said *Niall* the *Great Naoighiallach* had left behind him all his Hostages, and ended all his Greatness in this World.

Gratianus Lucius, *page* 299.
* *page* 447. *num* 56.

With

51. With the Battel, or loſs, or name of *Coilus*, as King of *Great Brittain*, mention'd by me *page* 19. though I took it from *Keting*, and quoted *Buchanan*, as he does, and find by reading *Buchanan* himſelf, that *Keting* has rightly quoted him; yet now I am not my ſelf otherwiſe affected with it than to reject it utterly. And my reaſon is, not only *Buchanans* fixing the time of that Battel, fought, as he ſays, between *Coilus* King of the *Brittons* and *Fergus* I. King of the *Scots*, eight or nine hundred years before this very *Fergus* came from *Ireland*: nor only *Buchanan*'s borrowing this whole ſtory out of *Hector Boethius*, whom *Humphry Lloyd* calls *hominem impuriſſimum*, a moſt impure Author, and *Lucius*, *Scriptorem corruptiſſimum*, a moſt corrupt Writer, nay one who in the far greater part of his Hiſtory ſcarce delivers any truth at all: but the very name of *Coilus* here, deriving its original from the fertil invention of *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*'s new Hiſtory of *Brutus*. For it is only in this Romance we find the firſt mention of any *Coilus* among the Kings of *Great Brittain*. And there indeed, I muſt confeſs, we have not only one, but three Monarchs of this Iſland bearing that name. The firſt of them being the fortieth King, in order of time; the ſecond, being the ſeventieth ſecond King; and the laſt, whom he names *Coel*,

Coel, being the ſeventy ninth, according to *Geoffrey*'s diſpoſition of them and my account out of him. But I muſt withal acknowledg, that he has not a word nor a ſyllable either of the firſt or laſt of theſe Three, ſave only the bare names of *Coilus* and *Coel*, hudled in among ſo many other moſtly too bare names of other pretended *Britiſh* Kings. Neither has he any more of the very Second *Coilus* than that he was the ſon of King *Marius*, and the Father of King *Lucius* the *Firſt Chriſtian* King of *Great Brittain*: and that having in his youth been bred at *Rome*, he continued after, e'en all along his Reign, both devoted to the *Roman* State, and in Peace with all his Neighbours. And therefore the reſt of the ſtory in *Buchanan*, either of this or any other *Coilus*, muſt be a later additional Invention: and, in reference to the real true Records of Antiquity, as ill contrived as might be; though anſwerably enough to the foundation laid for ſuch a ſuperſtructure of the new Hiſtory of *Brute* and his Deſcendants.

But ſince we are occaſionally return'd again to this famed Work of *Galfridus Monumetenſis*, whereof you have elſewhere ſo lately had from my own reading it over a pretty juſt Summary; give me leave here to let you ſee out of others as juſt a cenſure of it. Give me

me leave to tell you, that *Alanus Copus* has compared it with *Ovids Metamorphosis* and *Lucians* Tales. That *William Neubrigensis* has ſpent even three whole Leaves (in *Præm. Hiſt.*) to demonſtrate by inſtance of particulars, how it is wholly compos'd of the moſt improbable, incredible, and ungrounded Lyes that ever were invented. That *Cambden* alſo in his *Britannia* relates to others, who ſtick not to ſay, it is all patch'd up of untunable diſcords and jarring abſurdities; yea, compos'd of ſuch *Mileſian* Fables, ſuch intolerable meer inventions of the Authors own brain, that the *Roman* Church at laſt thought fit to enroll it in the *Index* of *Prohibited Books*. Yea that *Cambrenſis* himſelf, though a *Britton* by birth and blood, and as deſirous of the glory of his Countrey-men as any could be, gives it nevertheleſs the Character of a *fabulous Hiſtory*; as you may ſee in his *Deſcription of Wales*, cap. 7. Nay that in his *Itinerary of Wales*, l. 1. c. 5. he tells us that, and the occaſion and manner how, the Devils were ſeen leaping and skipping and dancing on it.

However, and though it be manifeſt, that as well theſe Cenſures, as the Summary aforeſaid, are ſufficient, even each of them apart, to ruin the ſtory of *Coilus* and *Fergus* in *Buchanan*, which derives originally from *Galfridus*,

fridus, and ultimately relies on his invention: I shall nevertheless give now another Argument, shewing more peculiarly, how little Faith ought to be given him in his Catalogue of *Brittish* Kings, and consequently none at all to his naming of *Coilus* among them. In his Seventh Book, Chap. V. where he so confidently relates the mighty Battel fought and overthrow given by King *Arthur* in *France* to those four hundred thousand *Romans*, and their Auxiliaries, mentioned before, part *Europeans*, part *Asians*, and the rest *Africans*, under many Kings come to assist the *Roman* Emperour against *Arthur*: he has also the brazen brow to invent not only those three names of the Emperour himself and his two Lieutenant Generals, which we have seen before; but many more of the Auxiliary Kings: *viz. Epistrephus* King of *Grecce*, *Mustemphar* King of *Parthia*, *Aliafatina* King of *Spain*, *Hirtacus* King of *Affric*, *Boetus* King of the *Medes*, *Sextorius* King of *Libya*, *Teucer* King of *Phrygia*, *Xerxes* King of the *Itureans*, *Pandrasus* King of *Egypt*, *Misipsa* King of *Babylon*, *Politetes* Duke of *Bithynia*, *Teucer* Duke of *Phrygia*, *Evander* of *Syria*, *Ethion* of *Boetia*, (sure it should be *Beotia*) *Hippolitus* of *Creet*, &c. whereas indeed there were no such names or men, and most of these Countreys named by him in the last place,

were

were but Provinces then under the *Roman* or *Conſtantinopolitan* Empire, and no Kings nor Dukes, but only Preſidents ruling them under the Emperour. Wherefore, if he could ſo boldly invent ſuch a liſt of Kings abroad in the World, for the ſixth Age of Chriſtianity, wherein he could be ſo eaſily diſproved by a thouſand arguments: we have no reaſon to think that for home and thoſe early Ages of the World, wherein he could not be diſproved by any Records, he did otherwiſe than meerly forge his Catalogue of *Britiſh* Kings. And theſe are the Reaſons that moved me to this Reflection upon that ſtory of *Coilus* and *Fergus* in *Buchanan*, as related out of him in my foreſaid 19th *page*. And the ſame reaſons, or at leaſt a ſufficient part of them, makes me likewiſe not inſiſt now upon the name of *Notium*, which you have ſeen before (*page* 13.) given to *Breoghain*'s Tower in *Gallicia*. It was (I doubt not) borrowed by *Keting* from *Hector Boethius*, who ſays in expreſs terms, that place was called firſt *Brigantia*, but after *Notium*, and laſt of all *Compoſtella*. I know there is a Promontory in *Deſmond* the South of *Mounſter*, which is by *Cambden* in his Map of *Ireland*, called *Notium*; but whether from any of that name in *North Spain*, or elſewhere I know not.

But

54. But what is more material to be noted occationally in this place, is *Buchanans* account of *Fergus*: and the rather becauſe he ſeems to give it from the *Scottiſh* Hiſtorians in general. He ſays, that this very *Fergus* (pretended by him to have been the over-thrower of *Coilus*, and by *Hector Boethius* to have alſo been the ſon of *Ferchardus* King of *Ireland*) was the Founder of the *Scottiſh* Kingdom in *Albania*, and firſt of all the Kings of the *Scots* inhabiting *Great Brittain*. That he came to *Albania* (or *Scotland*) about the time of *Alexander* the *Great*'s taking *Babylon*, almoſt 331. years before the Birth of Chriſt. And that within twenty four years more, having reign'd in all ſo long, in his return from *Ireland* (whither he had gone back from *Scotland* to quiet ſome diſturbances there) he periſh'd at Sea in a Tempeſt, near that Rock in the North of *Ireland*, which, from his wrack hard by, is ever ſince call'd in Latin *Rupes Fergusii*, (in Iriſh *Carrig-Fhearuis*, by us *Knock-Fergus*.) So ſays *Buchanan*: and ſo ſaid before him *Hector Boethius* and ſome others of his Countreymen Hiſtorians: both he and they either ſeeming to know nothing at all of thoſe *Annals* and Books whence only the real true Hiſtory of their Antiquities could be known: or elſe wittingly and willingly to have taken up a fabulous ſtory, of purpoſe

purpoſe to eſtabliſh a glorious ſucceſſion of a hundred and ſeven Kings of the ſame Nation reigning one after another from that *Fergus* I. to *James* VI. even for above 1900 years. Whatever the cauſe might be, the one or the other, or perhaps (which is likely enough) both together: it is plain out of the antient *Annals* and other Hiſtories of *Ireland* (which are indeed the only Fountain of all ſuch truly real *Scottiſh* Antiquities, as concern at leaſt the *Iriſh* Invaders and time of their Invaſion of any part of *Great Brittain*) that *Buchanan*, and thoſe follow'd by him have created the ſaid *Fergus* I. King of the *Scots* in *Albania*, even 819 years before he landed from *Ireland* in *Brittain*. For thoſe *Iriſh* Monuments fix on the year of Chriſt 498. the time of *Fergus Mor* (as they call him, ſon to *Erchо*, Nephew to *Eochadh Muinreamhar*) and of his five Brothers with him invading the North of *Brittain*. And *Tigernacus*, who commonly delivers in *Latin* what was done abroad, as what was done at home in *Iriſh*, has of the preſent ſubject this following paſſage: *Fergus Mor mhac Ercha, id eſt Fergusius Magnus Erci filius, cum Gente Dalrieta partem Britanniæ tenuit, & ibi mortuus eſt*, &c. That is, *Fergus Mor* the ſon of *Erch* with his people of *Dal-Riada*, poſſeſs'd himſelf of part of *Brittain*, and died there about the firſt year

of the Popedom of *Symmachus*. Which was the year of Chriſt 498. as Primat *Uſher* has rightly obſerved. Beſides, the old *Iriſh* Book containing the *Synchroniſm*, or (if I may ſo ſpeak) the contemporarineſs, not only of the Monarchs and Provincial Kings of *Ireland*, but of the Kings in *Albania* too, expreſly relates how it was in the twentieth year after the Battel of *Ocha*, that the ſix ſons of *Ercho*, *viz.* the two *Enguſes*, the two *Loarns*, (ſome Copies have *Coarns*) and the two *Ferguſes* (whereof one was this *Fergus* the *Great*) paſs'd over into *Albania*.

I ſay nothing how *Nennius* tranſlated into *Iriſh* among *O Duncgans Miſcellanies*, ſays, it was in the ſixth Age of the World [redacted] the *Dal-Riadans* had conquer'd part of the Countrey of the *Picts*, and the *Saxons* enter'd on other parts of *Great Britain*. Nor do I inſiſt on *O Duncgan* himſelf, though he moſt minutely proſecutes this Adventure of *Ercho*'s Children, telling the Families iſſued from them in *Scotland* (which he calls *Albain*) what Lordſhips or Lands each of them was poſſeſs'd of there, and what Forces by Land or Sea they uſually raiſed.

But what I am particularly to obſerve is, that of all hands among the *Iriſh* Annaliſts and Hiſtorians it is without any contradicti-

on

on admitted, That this *Fergus* the *Great*, ſon to *Ercho*, is the ſame wih *Ferguſius* I. King of the *Scots*, though in *Boethius*, *Major*, *Buchanan*, &c. called in *Latin* the ſon of *Ferchardus*. That the foreſaid Battel of *Ocha*, wherein the *Iriſh* Monarch *Oillioll Molt* periſh'd, was fought in the year of Chriſt 478. And that from this year to the year 498. there is no man but ſees the juſt interval muſt be thoſe twenty years on expiration whereof the foreſaid Book of *Synchroniſm* relates the paſſing of *Fergus Mor* to *Brittain*. And the iſſue of all muſt be, that certainly as to this particular, either all the ancient *Iriſh* Annals and Monuments, beſides the late Hiſtories of *Keting* and *Lucius* are extraordinary falſe: or *Buchanan* and *Hector Boethius*, and all other *Scottiſh* Authors follow'd by them are extreamly out. Even ſo far out as to have at leaſt inverted the whole ſucceſſion, deſcent, line and genealogie of their Kings, by giving us a Catalogue with the Lives and Reigns of two or three and forty Kings as deſcended Lineally from *Ferguſius* I. before he had been exiſtent on Earth. For *Congallus* is the Xliiii. King in *Buchanan*, &c. and yet the eighteenth year of this very *Congallus*, according to *Buchanans* computation, muſt have been the year of our Lord 498. in which all the *Iriſh* Records place the landing of *Fergus Mor* in *Scotland*, tho

the very firſt of the Catalogue in him and other Hiſtorians follow'd by him. Moreover, and which yet is no leſs conſiderable than any of the former Arguments, we may take notice that *Buchanan* and his Authors make *Reuda* the ſixth King of thoſe in his Catalogue, deſcended from *Fergus*. Then which nothing can be more plain againſt all the *Iriſh* Antiquities. To ſay nothing of *V. Bede* in his *Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. 1. cap. 1.* whom you may conſult at leaſure. But for the *Iriſh* Chronicles, I am ſure they tell us particularly, that the Monarch of *Ireland Conaire mhac Mogha Lauae* had three ſons, call'd the Three *Carbry*'s, *viz. Cairbre Muiſck*, from whom the Tract of *Muſckry*, and *Cairbre Baiſckin*, from whom the Land of *Corca bhaiskin*, both in *Mounſter*, has denomination, and *Cairbre Riada*, alias *Riadhfada*. That this laſt of the Three was the firſt *Iriſh* Conqueror of the Countrey in *Albania*, which bore his name, being called in Iriſh *Dal-Riada* (in Engliſh the *Part* of *Riada*) and by *Latin* Writers *Dal-rieta*, *Dal-Reuda*; and the Inhabitants *Dal-Reudini*, as *Bede* calls 'em. And that his foreſaid Father, the *Iriſh* Monarch *Conaire mhac Mogha Lauae*, having reign'd in *Ireland* eight years, was kill'd in the year of the World 5364. being the year of Chriſt 165. Whence it muſt follow that his ſaid ſon *Cairbre*, ſurnamed

named *Riada* in *Iriſh*, though by *V. Bede* and others called *Reuda*, muſt have invaded the *Picts*, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of that part of their Countrey named from him, at leaſt three hundred years before the time of *Fergus* the *Great*, who, as we have ſeen before, invaded not *Albania* till the year of Chriſt 498. So wide, in this very particular of *Reuda*, is the *Iriſh* account and Hiſtory from the *Scottiſh* in *Buchanan*.

How to reconcile the difference in either particular, being it is ſo great, and concerns ſo great a ſucceſſion of Kings, and Ages too for at leaſt 819 years, I leave to ſuch as ſhall pleaſe to concern themſelves in it, more than my purpoſe in this place requires I ſhould my ſelf. But let them withal take theſe further Animadverſions to thought. 1. That the Father of this *Fergusius* the *Great*, however you call him, *Erck*, *Ercho*, *Ercha*, or either (as *Buchanan* has it) *Ferchardus*, or any other name whatſoever, was never King of *Ireland*; as no more was *Fergus Mor* himſelf, notwithſtanding *Buchanan*'s intimation to the contrary, but only a Brother to *Muirchiortach* the *Iriſh* Monarch that reign'd over all *Ireland* from the year of Chriſt 503, to the year 527. wherein he was murder'd. 2. That *Joannes Major* himſelf, though a *Scotchman*, has, (in his little *Hiſtory of Great Brittain*, *cap.* X.)

reflected on that Vulgar Errour in the Annals of *Scotland*, where they place *Fergusius* I. before *Reuda*'s time, 3. That *Hollingshed* (in his *English Translation of Hector Boethius*) professes himself to be of Opinion, That very many of those Kings, related by the *Scottish* Histories to have reigned successively one after another in *Scotland*, were such as neither successively, nor in *Scotland*, but together at the same time reigned part of them in *Ireland*, and part in other adjacent lesser Islands. 4. That *Gratianus Lucius* (in his *Camb. Everſ. page* 93.) adds moreover, Himself to think not improbably, that the *Scottish* Authors borrowed a great number of their Kings, from those indeed that were *Pictish* Kings. Where, to ground this Opinion of his, he produces an old *Irish* Translation of *Ninnius*; I mean as to the Catalogue of *Pictish* Kings in that ancient Author: and fixes in particular on eighteen of them by name, among which is one *Gregory*, albeit *Gregory* be the Lxxiii. King of *Scots* in *Buchanan*'s Catalogue, and that King too in whom *Buchanan* glories so much as to record him to posterity by the Title of *Gregory* the *Great*, which he says was deservedly given him by his own People. 5. That although, in *Buchanan*'s account, this very *Gregory* began his Regn *an. Christi* 870. and finish'd it by his death

death *anno* 892. and consequently was not only King of *Scots*, but of *Scotland*, being the *Pictish* Kingdom there (at least as 'tis commonly suppos'd) had been utterly destroy'd, full thirty years before the very first of his Reign: yet if his being either King of *Scotland* or King of *Scots* be no truer than *Buchanan*'s Relation of his invading *Ireland*, fighting a great Battel victoriously there against the two Protectors or Tutors of the young King *Duncanus* a Minor, and then visiting this young King at *Dublin* where he resided, and then appointing new Tuters for him, and last of all taking with him to *Scotland* threescore *Irish* Hostages out of the several Provinces of *Ireland*: I dare say there was never any such thing, or Person or Prince as *Gregory* King of *Scots*. For besides what I have given before (*page* 23 &24.) to disprove this great fiction of *Gregory* the *Great*, either conquering or at all invading *Ireland*: 'tis clear out of all the *Irish* Antiquities recording the *Danish* Wars, that not the *Irish*, nor any *Irish* King, Minor or not Minor, did possess *Dublin* at that time, but the *Danes*. And indeed, to confirm this truth, the Annals of *Ulster* tell us, that in the year of our Lord 871. two great *Danish* Captains, *viz. Ainlaph and Juor came from* Albania *to* Ath-Cliath (alias *Dublin*) *with two hundred sail, and an*

exceeding great Prey of Engliſh, *and* Brittons, *and* Picts. *whom they brought Captives to* Ireland. So that *Dublin* moſt certainly was, in the Reign of that *Gregory* of *Scotland*, not under any Monarch or other *Iriſh* King, as no more was it in a hundred and fifty years following, but in the power of the *Danes*, who were at leaſt the firſt Re-builders of it much about the ſame time that *Buchanan* ſuppoſes it to have been the Metropolitan City of *Ireland*; tho it came not to be ſo till *Henry* the Second's Reign. For he indeed was the firſt King or Lord of *Ireland* that ever kept his Court there, and by appointing it the Reſidence of his Vice-Roys gave it in a little time ſo great ſplendor, that the Forger ſeeing it ſo in his own time, thought fit in much earlier times to place his forged *Iriſh* Monarch (of *Gregory* of *Scotlands* ſtory) *Duncanus* in it as in the Royal Manſion of the Kings of *Ireland*. Whereas to the contrary, nothing is more known in the *Iriſh* Hiſtories, than that the City of *Tarach* full twenty miles from *Dublin*, was the Royal Seat of the Kings of *Ireland*, till its deſtruction by the firſt *Daniſh* War, and in the ſame days *Dublin* at beſt but a very mean place reſpectively. 6. That nevertheleſs, as I am apt enough to believe, that, allowing *Cambden* the liberty of an hyperbolical expreſſion, he has upon ſufficient grounds told us, that *the Earls of* Argile *derive their Race from the ancient*

cient Princes and Potentates of Argile, *by an infinite deſcent of Anceſtors:* ſo I am verily perſuaded that by how much the Genealogy of Kings muſt be more narrowly ſifted than that of any Subjects, by ſo much *Gratianus Lucius* has upon ſurer grounds exactly derived in a direct Line the deſcent of *James* the ſixth of *Scotland*, and firſt of *Great Brittain*, not only through ſo many Kings his Predeceſſors of *Scotland* from the ancient Kings of *Argile*, up along to *Fergus* I. nor only from thoſe before that very *Fergus*, through fourteen Generations up to *Reuda:* but even before this *Reuda*, through fifty three Generations, whereof Twenty four were Monarchs of *Ireland*, up along to *Herimon*, the firſt ſole abſolute Monarch of the *Mileſian* blood in that Kingdom, even ſo long ſince as Three thouſand years, wanting only ſeven. Nay, I am likewiſe perſuaded, that he has alſo very exactly in two other Lines, carried up the deſcent of the ſame King *James*, through thirty one other Monarchs of *Ireland* to the ſaid *Herimon:* as alſo in a fourth and fifth Line through four and twenty more of the *Iriſh* Monarchs (and here I mean twenty four more wholly different from all thoſe fifty ſix already given of *Herimons* Race.) up along to *Heber*, who being the ſtock in theſe two laſt Lines, makes the 25th King of *Ireland* in this number aſcending upwards: for ſo he

was

was (during his ſhort life) in a joynt Sovereignty, with his foreſaid Brother *Herimon*. 7. That undoubtedly this derivation of King *James* through ſo many Lines for three thouſand years, and from the Loins of eighty one *Iriſh* Monarchs, beſides all the truly real both Kings of *Scotland*, and Kings of *Scots* or *Dal-Riada* and *Argathelia* in *Scotland*, given us at large by *Gratianus Lucius* (in his *Camb. Everſ. page* 242. 243, and 244.) as it is by many degrees a much more ancient, ſo it is a much more glorious derivation of the Royal Pedigree, than either *Buchanan*, or *Boethius*, or *Major*, or indeed any other *Scottiſh* Hiſtorian, nay or even any *Scottiſh* Herald whatſoever among thoſe called *Engliſh Scots*, was capable to make even ſo much as in any manner, well or ill, as being wholly ignorant of the *Iriſh* Antiquities, which they could neither underſtand nor read, if they had had 'em.

And theſe are the Animadverſions I deſire them take to thought who ſhall either perſuade themſelves they can reconcile the difference 'twixt the *Scottiſh* and *Iriſh* Hiſtories concerning *Fergus*, or except againſt me for laying it open, how juſtly ſoever the ſtory of Him and *Coilus*, given by me (*page* 20) out of *Buchanan*, has put a neceſſity on me to do ſo here.

There

There is a passage in my 21 *page*, that says, *The* Romans *built Towers and Bulwarks all along the Southern Coast of* Brittain, *at convenient distances, against the landing of the* Irish *on that side out of their plundering Fleets.* Herein also I followed my Author *Keting*, if I understand him rightly. But having since consulted *Cambden*, I found that either *Keting* had mistaken the matter, or I him. For the truth is, that albeit in relation to the *Caledonians*, or *Picts*, and *Scots* inhabiting, or those driven at that time to the Countreys lying North of *Grahams Dyk*, the foresaid Towers or Castles, must be acknowledg'd built in the South; yet in relation to the whole Island of *Great Brittain*, or to us now in *England*, they were not so. Which, and whatever else concerning either that Dyke or Wall of the *Romans*, that you may the more fully understand, take this following *Extract* out of *Cambden*, according to *Hollands* translation of him.

Camden *in his* Scotia, *and* Sterling Sheriffdom.

"*Julius Agricola* observing "the narrow land or Streight "by which *Dunbritton Frith* and *Edenborough* "*Frith* are held from commixing, fortified "this space between with Garrisons. So as "all the part this side was then in possession "of the *Romans*; the Enemies remov'd, and "as it were driven into another Island. In

"so

" ſo much as *Tacitus* judg'd right truly, there
" was no other limit of *Brittain* to be ſought
" for. Neither verily in the time enſuing did
" either the valour of Armies, or Glory of
" the *Roman* name, which ſcarcely could be
" ſtayed, ſet out the Marches of the Empire,
" in this part of the World, further: although
" with inroads they otherwhiles moleſted
" and endammaged them. But after this glo-
" rious Expedition of *Agricola*, when him-
" ſelf was called back, *Brittain* (as ſays *Ta-*
" *citus*) became *For-let:* neither was the
" poſſeſſion kept ſtill this far. For the *Cale-*
" *donian Brittons* drave the *Romans* back as far
" as to the River *Tine*. In ſo much as *Hadrian*,
" who came into *Brittain* in perſon, and re-
" form'd many things in it, went no farther
" forward; but gave Commandment, that the
" God *Terminus*, who was wont to give
" ground to none, ſhould retire backwards
" out of this place like as in the Eaſt, on this
" ſide *Euphrates* he did. Hence it is that St.
" *Auguſtin* (*de Civ. Dei. l.* 4. *c.* 29.) wrote
" in this wiſe: *God* Terminus, *who gave not*
" *place to* Jupiter, *yielded to the will of* Hadria-
" nus, *yielded to the raſhneſs of* Julian, *yielded*
" *to the neceſſity of* Jovian. In ſo much as
" *Hadrian* had enough to do to make a Wall
" of Turf between the River of *Tine* and
" *Eſk*, well near an hundred miles South-
" ward

"ward on this ſide *Edenborough Frith*. But "his adopted ſon *Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius*, under the conduct of *Lollius* "*Urbicus*, whom he had ſent hither his "Lieutenant, repell'd the Northern Enemies "back again beyond *Bodotria*, or *Edenborough* "*Forth*; and that by raiſing another Wall of "Turf, namely beſides that of *Hadrianus*, "as *Capitolinus* writeth. [Which other Wall that it was reared in this very place, whereof I now ſpeak, and not by *Severus*, as 'tis commonly thought, *Cambden* produces no other argument than two ancient Inſcriptions digged up therein.] "But when the Nor-"thern Nations, (*viz. Picts* and *Scots*) in "the Reign of *Commodus*, having paſs'd over "this other Wall, made much waſte and "great ſpoil in the Countrey, *Severus* the "Emperour repair'd the Wall of *Hadrian*. "Howbeit, afterwards the *Romans* brought "eftſoons the Countrey lying between under "their ſubjection. For *Nennius* hath record-"ed, that *Carauſius* under *Diocleſian* ſtreng-"thened the Wall of *Edenborough Frith* an "other time, and fortified it with ſeven "Caſtles. Laſtly, the *Romans*, when *Theo-"doſius* the younger was Emperour, fenſed "this Wall under the conduct of *Gallio* of "*Ravenna*. Now (ſays *Bede*) they made a "Turf Wall, rearing it not ſo much with "ſtone

"ſtone as with Turfs (as having no cunning
"Artificer for ſo great a piece of Work) and
"the ſame to no uſe, between two Friths
"or arms of the Sea, for many miles in
"length: that where the fence of Water
"was wanting, there by the help of a Wall
"they might defend their borders from the
"invaſion of Enemies. Of which work, that
"is to ſay, a very broad and high Wall, a
"man may ſee to this day moſt certain and
"and evident remains. This Wall began, as
"the *Scots* now ſay, at the River *Aven*,
"which goes into *Edenborough Frith*, and
"ended at *Dunbritton*. But *Bede* ſays. it be-
"gins at a place call'd *Pen-wael* (in the Brit-
"tiſh Tongue *Pengual*, in Engliſh *Penwalton*,
"in Scottiſh *Ceual*, but all deriving no doubt
"from the Latin word *Vallum*, and all im-
"porting the *Head of the Wall*) two miles
"from *Abercurving*; and endeth, as the com-
"mon ſort think, at *Kirk-Patrick* (the native
"ſoil, as ſome write, of St. *Patrick* the *A-*
"*poſtle* of *Ireland*) near unto *Cluyd*; accord-
"ing to *Bede*, *Alcluid*, after *Nennius*, *Pen-al-*
"*cloyt*, which do ſeem all one. Now this
"Wall is commonly called *Grahams Dyke*,
"either of *Graham* a warlike *Scot*, whoſe Va-
"lour was eſpecially ſeen when the breach
"was made through it, or elſe of the Hill
"*Grampie*, at the foot whereof it ſtood.

"The

"The Author of *Rota Temporum* calls it the "Wall of *Abercorneth*, *that is* "*of the mouth of the River* "Corneth, *on* Engliſh *ground*, "*but near unto that Frith or* "*Arm of the Sea, which in* "*thoſe days ſevered the Lands* "*of the* Engliſh *and* Picts. Hitherto *Camb-* "*den.*

where in Bede's *time there was a famous Monaſtery ſtanding as he hath recorded.*

But I muſt confeſs *Venerable Bede* is in ſome things or ſome part more particular on this Subject. For he tells us (*l.* 1. *c.* 5. *Eccl. Hiſtor. Anglor.*) That *Severus* having come to the Empire, *anno Chriſti* 189. the Xiiii. Emperour after *Auguſtus*, and entred *Great Brittain* himſelf in perſon; thought fit, in proſecution of the War, and for defence of the *Roman* Province there from the *Caledonian* Enemies, to make a great ſtrong Wall of Soads and Stakes, or piles of Timber with frequent Towers upon it and a broad Ditch by it all along from Sea to Sea (where nevertheleſs obſerve that *Bede* determines nothing of the place.) And in the xii. Chapter of that ſame firſt Book, he tells us at large of two other Walls,

Paulus Oroſius *ſays this wall was carried croſs the Land for one hundred and thirty miles. And the ſame has* Ado Viennenſis. *But* George Buchanan, *l.* 3. *ſays, 'tis an error in the number, and that inſtead of a hundred thirty two, it ſhould be only thirty two.*

even

even long after that time of *Severus*, built from Sea to Sea. The one, which is that here deſcribed by *Cambden*, built of Soads and Stakes by the *Brittons* themſelves, when the firſt ſupply of *Romans*, come to beat back thoſe Northern Foes, having done ſo, were upon their return home. The other, ſome time after, of ſtone, eight foot broad and twelve foot high, built at both the publick and private charge, by the joint concurrence of the *Brittons* and laſt *Roman* Legion come to defend them. Beſides in the ſame Chapter he tells us of the Towers built on the South of the Weſtern Sea (or that of *Dun-Britton*) at convenient diſtances, to defend the *Brittons* from the plundering Fleets of the *Barbarians*. But for any Wall or Fence either of ſtone or Earth made under *Theodoſius* the Younger, *Bede* has not a word; but rather plainly ſhews the contrary Chap. 13, where he tells in plain terms, that *Ælius* to whom the *Britons* made their application for new ſupplies again, refuſed to ſend them any: and that as for that later Wall and thoſe Caſtles of ſtone, how ſtrongly ſoever built, they were ſoon ſcaled, and forc'd by the *Iriſh* and *Picts*, and the miſerable *Britons* quite over-run by both a new, even from all quarters of theſe very Fortifications of Lime and Stone.

46. You

46. You find in the 25th Page, that I make the first *Danish* Invasion of *Ireland* to have been *anno Christi* 820. For so *Keting* has it in the Reign of *Aodh Ordnighe*; and him I follow'd there. But here I must fix it earlier by eight years. My warrant is from the Annals of *France* contracted by *Eginhardus*, wherein you may read, that, in the Year of our Lord 812. [*Classis Danorum Hiberniam aggressa, à Scotis prælio superatur*] the *Danish* Fleet invading *Ireland*, was by the *Scots* (for so they call'd the *Irish* then) defeated in a Battel. And *Aymoinus*, where he relates, in the Reign of *Charles* the *Great*, that then [*Classis Normannorum Hiberniam, Scotorum Insulam aggressa, commisso prælio cum Scotis, innumerabilis multitudo Normannorum extincta est, & turpiter fugiendo domum reversa est*] the *Norman* Fleet having attack'd *Ireland*, the *Island* of the *Scots*, and given them Battel, and an innumerable multitude of the *Normans* being kill'd in that Fight, was forc'd at last to run away shamefully, and return home. See *Gratianus Lucius* in his *Cambrens. Evers.* page 13.

47. I have insinuated *page* 57. that they were the *Irish* who gave a beginning abroad even to the Schools at *Oxford*. And now I add, that as *Polidore Virgil* says, King *Alfred*, having in the year of Christ 895. by his

Royal Authority approved of *Oxford* for a place of general ſtudies, ſent *Joannes Scotus Erigena* thither, *ut omnium primus ibi bonas literas doceret*, the very firſt publick Profeſſor and Teacher of good Letters there, ſays *Pitſius* page 162, who further gives this Encomium to *Erigena*, that in Learning or knowledg of the Learned Arts, he had ſcarce his match throughout the World in that Age, [*qui in omni meliori doctrina vix ſui ſimilem quenquam in illa Ætate per terrarum orbem habuerit.*] Now it is clearly demonſtrable both out of Hiſtory, and the ſurname *Erigena*, that this very *Joannes Scotus Erigena* was an *Iriſh* man, and that not only by Education and breeding, as *Harpsfield* grants he was, but by extraction and birth. The proofs at large may be ſeen in *Lucius*, *page* 148. where he quotes *Nicolaus* I. the Pope, *Anaſtaſius*, *Malmsbury*, *Hoveden*, *Weſtmonaſterienſis*, *Uſher*, and laſt of all *Edward Matthews* (*de Scriptor. Angl. Bened.* page 166.) who particularly notes, That this *Joannes Scotus*, was in *Latin* ſurnamed *Erigena*, becauſe of his birth in *Erin*; For ſo *Ireland* has been always call'd by the Natives to this very day, and was then by others too. *Erigena* therefore being the ſame with *Hibernigena*, you may conclude that if *Angligena*, and *Francigena*, import the one an *Engliſh* man, the other a *French*

French man born: ſo muſt *Erigena* an *Iriſh* man by birth. Nor is any thing ſaid here of *Erigena* in any wiſe inconſiſtent with *Cambden*'s relation out of the old Annals of the Abbey of *Wincheſter*. Wherein, after telling how King *Alfred* had recall'd the Muſes to *Oxford*, and built three Colledges there, one for Grammarians, another for Philoſophers, and a third for Divines; 'tis further ſaid, that *in the year of Chriſts Incarnation* 806, *being the ſecond year of St.* Grimbald's *coming into* England, *the firſt Regents and Profeſſors in the Divinity Colledg were St.* Naoth *an Abbot, and holy* Grimald *a right excellent Profeſſour of the moſt ſweet written Word of holy Scripture.* All this might be true, and yet *Erigena* be and continue ſtill the firſt Profeſſour of the Learned Arts and good Letters at *Oxford*. Cambden *tranſlated by* Hol. *page* 378.

Where I relate (*page* 34.) the famous Battel fought at *Clantarff* by the brave *Brian Boraimh*, I paſs by *Hanmers* relation of it. Even as I have all along paſs'd by many ther of his ſtories concerning *Ireland*. As for Example, 1. That of *Gurguntius*, the ſon of *Belinus*, King of *Great Brittain*, to have met at Sea about the Iſle of *Orkney*, as Hanmer, *pag.* 91.

he return'd from the Conquest of *Denmark*, a Fleet of sixty Sail of *Spaniards*, with Men and Women, commanded by the Governour of *Baiona*, seeking some Countrey to inhabit, or live in, and to have assign'd them *Ireland*, &c. 2. That other yet more ridiculous one out of *Harding* (and *Mewinus* a British Chronicler quoted by *Harding*) * How *Gathelus* and *Scota* came to these Northern parts, *anno Christi* 75. 3. That of *Fredelenus* King of *Denmark*, in the Reign of *Augustus Cæsar*, to have invaded *Ireland*, and taken *Dublin*, though not by force, but by the help of Swallows firing the City with fire tied to their wings: though himself was presently forc'd by the King of *Leinster* to depart and run away to his Fleet. 4. That of *Frotho* III. King of *Denmark* when our Saviour was born, to have made all *Ireland* tributary, and been Monarch thereof. As also that other in him (out of *Saxo Grammaticus* and *Albertus Krantzius*) concerning *Frotho* IV. (thirty years after the former) his having sent the Giants, and the huge Monster *Starkaterus* to invade the same Kingdom. 5. That, of King *Arthur* of *Great Brittain*, and *Gillomar* King of *Ireland*, *Mark* King of *Cornwall*,

* Harding *lived in the Reigns of* Henry *V.* Henry *VI. and* Edward *IV.*

Hanmer, *page* 50, 51, *and* 52.

Cornwall, Sir *Triſtram*, and *La Bel Iſod*, &c. though, beſides the Books of *Houth*, he quotes alſo *Florilegus*, and *Fabian*, *Caxton*, *Holingbed*, *Flemming*, and *Harding* for 'em. 6. That of his genealogy of *Fionn mhac Cuuail*, and his making this *Fionn*, and his Aſſociats both, to have been Giants and of *Daniſh* birth: whereof I have ſpoken before, *page* and therefore need not ſay any more in this place. 7. That of his three vaſt Armies of Foreigners invading *Ireland* by combination in ſeveral Provinces at one time: and this to have been the time of *Conſtantine* the *Great*'s Empire at *Rome*. The firſt, of thirty thouſand, landed at *Derry* in *Ulſter*, and their Navy fired, and themſelves too in one Battel ſlain by *Conn Ceadchathach*, one of the Princes of that Province, as he calls him. The ſecond, of a greater number, landed at *Skerries* not far from *Dublin*; but deſtroy'd in one other Battel by *Diarmuid Lambdhearg* King of *Leinſter*, who (ſays he) kill'd ſix and thirty thouſand of them on the ſpot. The third, and it much more numerous yet, landed in *Mounſter*, and utterly deſtroy'd at *Fentra*: when the Forces of all *Ireland* encountring them, ſlew ſeven ſcore thouſand of them in that one Field. 8. That (where ever he had it; for he tells not where) of the Battel of *Gariſtown* and *Arcath* (or, as the *Iriſh* call it, *Ardcheth*)

fought, as he says, in the reign of *Cairbre Liffor*, Monarch of *Ireland*, by the seven Kings of that Nation and their Army 65000 Horse and Foot, against the *Danish Bownies* (who had been formerly entertain'd by those Princes to defend their Coasts, but now rebell'd) being 28700, hardy resolute Warriours: and fought well-nigh a whole day with equal Fortune so mortally, that Horses were up to their bellies in blood: until at last Fortune favouring the righteous Cause of the Princes, they put these rebellious forein Bownies to a total rout, and edg of the Sword all of them, although it cost their side also very dear, even the lives of four of their Kings, and nineteen thousand seven hundred and sixty others.

All these Relations, though given as true ones by *Hanmer* at large, I have pass'd by. First, because of their manifest repugnancy to all the *Irish* Chronicles. Nay, because there is not one word or syllable of any of them in Doctor *Ketings* Irish Chronicle, which yet is an ample Summary of all the Authentick or esteemed Chronicles and Histories of that Nation, at least of such as relate to their Monarchs. And because all reason tells us, that the *Irish* Antiquaries, who give in a manner the most minute particulars of all the Invasions and Fights in that Countrey, either amongst their own Princes, or against Foreiners

ners, and Battels loſt, and Victories obtain'd at any time under any of the ſeveral Monarchs of *Ireland* for much above two thouſand years until the *Engliſh Conqueſt*, an. 1152. would never have omitted at leaſt theſe mighty Victories told us by *Hanmer*, which, if true, would much more have made for the glory of their Nation, than many or moſt (or perhaps any) of thoſe other ſo exactly, and minutely too not a few of them, related in their Chronicles. Secondly, becauſe of all theſe following particulars, than which nothing is more clear and uncontеſted in all the *Iriſh* Chronicles or Hiſtories, that are not known Romances.

49. For they particularly and unanimouſly tell us in the firſt place, what in effect I have ſaid before, *viz.* that *Gathelus* himſelf (otherwiſe by them, and in their Languages named *Gaoidheal*, and ſurnamed *Glas* from whom originally the whole both *Mileſian* and other *Gathelian* Iriſh deſcended, and are therefore jointly call'd in Iriſh *Clanna Gaoidheal*, i. e. the children of *Gathelus*) not only never came to *Ireland*, nay nor into *Spain* neither, but was no where on Earth living ſome hundreds of years before *Mileadh* (or *Mileſius*) was born. That under *Pharaoh Cingeris* he was born in *Egypt*, though begotten by *Niall* Brother to the King of *Scythia*. That his Father *Niull* was both

contemporary and acquainted with *Moſes*, and offered to do him ſervice & kindneſs too when the Children of *Iſrael* were upon the banks of the *Red* Sea to croſs it over: *Niull* being then by *Pharaoh*'s gift poſſeſſor and Lord of a large Countrey near that place where the *Iſraelites* encamp'd at that time. That as the Father *Niull*, ſo the Son *Gaodheal* (or *Gathelus*) and children after him, continued in *Egypt* until *Pharaoh Intius* baniſh'd the whole Race of them away, and forc'd them to ſeek their Adventures elſewhere under the conduct of *Sruth* the ſon of *Eaſruth*, ſon to the ſaid *Gathelus*, or *Gaodheal Glas*. That *Mileadh* (or *Mileſius*) whoſe poſterity long after invaded, conquered and poſſeſs'd *Ireland*, was the nineteenth Generation from the ſaid *Gathelus*: and *Pharaoh Nectanibus*, being the XVth *Pharaoh* after *Cingeris* who had been drown'd in the *Red* Sea, was the King of *Egypt*, who gave his Daughter to *Mileſius* in marriage. That although it be from the ſaid *Gaodheal Glas*, the *Mileſian* Race in *Ireland*, and Race alſo of their Coſins that came with them out of *Spain*, and thoſe and theſe only of all the *Iriſh*, be properly called *Gaoidhil* or *Clanna Gaoidheal*, i. e. the children or deſcendants of *Gathelus*; yet tſte *Iriſh* Language is not from him called *Gaodhealc*; but from an other *Gathelus* or *Gaodheal* former to him: another I mean, who either compos'd, or at leaſt refin'd

fin'd and diſtinguiſh'd it into thoſe five ſeveral different idioms, or dialects for Poetry, Law, Genealogy, *&c.* ſo hard to be underſtood all of them by any one man, that they would require the whole Age of a man to attain unto them. Laſtly, that the poſterity of the later *Gaodheal*, I mean *Gaodheal Glas*, and of his Wife *Scota*, (at leaſt ſo called) *viz.* the *Mileſian* Race & their Coſins, had been poſſeſſors of *Ireland* near 1320 years before the birth Chriſt. In which account, or period of time, even *Cambrenſis* himſelf and *Polichronicon* agree, as we have ſeen before *page 6.* And therefore that ſtory of *Hanmer*, derived from *Harding* and *Meuin*, telling us of *Gathelus* and *Scotas* coming to theſe Northern parts, or landing in *Ireland* anno Chriſti 75. muſt be one of the moſt ridiculous ſtories in the world. They were dead well nigh two thouſand years before: and in their life-time never left *Egypt*, for ought that may be known of them.

In the next place they tell us, that *Bartolanus*, whom they call *Partholan*, enter'd, planted, and poſſeſs'd *Ireland*, *anno Mundi* 1956. that is, about 300 years after the Flood. Argument enough, that *Hanmer* knew nothing of the *Iriſh* Hiſtory, when he joyn'd together *Bartolanus* and the *Mileſian* off-ſpring, as being of a company, and entring *Ireland* at the ſame time: for this alſo he does. And yet we have ſeen before, that the *Mileſians* came

came not to *Ireland* before the year of the World 2736. that is 731 years after *Bartolanus* had ſetled there.

50. Beſides, they tell us particularly and unanimouſly, that as we have often ſeen already in that year of the World 2736. and before Chriſt 1308 years, thoſe *Iberians* the ſons of *Mileſius* landed and conquer'd *Ireland*. How then could they be conducted thither, and aſſign'd that Countrey for their Habitation by *Gurguntius* King of *Great Brittain*. He was not in being then, nor in many Ages after. I am ſure he was not King of *Great Brittain*, by *Hanmer*'s own relation, until the year of the World 3580. Nor was he Conductor of thoſe *Iberians* to *Ireland*, nor did they ſwear allegiance to him until the year of the World 3592, and before the birth of Chriſt 376, according to *Campions* account. That is full 858 years after they had conquer'd that Kingdom. And therefore I need not quarrel either *Campion* or *Hanmer*, about their relating thoſe *Iberians* or *Spaniards*, before their paſſing to *Ireland* to have dwell'd in *Gaſcoign* or towards *Baiona*, or within the juriſdiction of that ſo great and Capital a City then, though it be not true. Nor need I expoſtulate with them about their affirming that *Gurguntius* had the Sovercign Rule of that Countrey and City, and conſequently of theſe very

Mileſians,

Milesians when they dwelt thereabouts, before their adventuring to *Ireland*. Enough is said already to ruin this whole story: And by consequence, enough to overthrow all the supports of that pretended subjection of *Ireland* to *Gurguntius*. But if I mind you once more that *Polichronicon*, nay *Cambrensis* himself (who is the Ringleader as in many other, so particularly in this matter to *Campion*, *Hanmer*, and other late Authors) confesses the landing of those *Iberians* in *Ireland*, full 1800 years before the mission of St. *Patrick* to *Ireland* by *Celestinus* in the year of Christ 431. then I doubt whether I have not said more than enough on the Subject. I am sure that by this very computation or confession of *Cambrensis*, and their own account of the year before Christ, wherein *Hanmer* and *Campion* say, *Gurguntius* met those *Iberians* at Sea: this year before Christ, and this meeting of *Gurguntius* at Sea must be later by a whole thousand years of the World, than that assign'd by *Cambrensis* for the conquest made on *Ireland* by the same *Iberians*,

Moreover, the *Irish* Antiquaries no less particularly tell us, that *Crimthan Niad Nar* was Monarch of *Ireland* Reeing. when our Saviour was born,

That this divine Generation happened in the 12th year of his Reign, and his Reign lasted in

in all but four years more. That *Conchabhar Abhraruadh* was King before him for one year only: but before him, *Lughadh Sriabhndearg* had continued Monarch six and twenty years compleat. That this same *Lughadh* married the King of *Denmarks* Daughter: and before his Reign immediately an *Interregnum* of five years had been, which followed upon the murder of *Conair Mor mhic Eidirsceoil*: and before this *Interregnum*, the same *Conair Mor* had reigned full seventy years in great prosperity. That, after the foresaid *Crioffan Niadnair*, those who immediately succeeded in the Sovereign power of *Ireland* were *Fearrhadlach* for twenty years; then *Fiacha Fionn* for three; and after him *Fiocha Fionnolladh* for twenty seven years more. That these & those, in all seven Monarchs, were every one of them kill'd in such and such manner, and by such and such men of their own very Nation. That after the seventh of them had been slaughtered by the *Athaghtuachi*, or Countrey Boors and *Plebeians*, in their General conspiracy against all the Royal and noble Blood; the same *Athatchtuachi* set up for King of *Ireland* one *Cairbre*, surnamed *Ceannchait*, or *Caitcheann* from his *Cats* face, an *Irish* man indeed by birth, but by descent originally, that is in the Ninth generation before, come out of *Denmark*, as one of the King of *Denmark*'s sons, who had accom-

accompanied *Lauradh Loinnſioch* returning with Auxiliaries from *France* to recover his inheritance the Monarchy of *Ireland*; which *Lauradh* did, *Anno* 3727. according to the computation followed by *Gratianus Lucius*. Laſtly, that this Uſurper *Cairbre Caitcheann* was at the end of five years kill'd, and all his rebellious rout of Peaſants, and their partakers, overthrown by the Nobles, headed then by the rightful Heir of the Monarchy *Tuathal Teachtmhor*, who thereupon was received as ſuch, being now the C. Monarch of the *Mileſian* Race. And all theſe matters, together with ſo many other particular appendants on them, within the Reigns of thoſe eight or nine Monarchs: which Reigns compriz'd the whole Reign and Life too, nay much more time before and after than the whole Reign, or Life either, of *Auguſtus* in the *Roman* Empire: the *Iriſh* Antiquaries give us moſt exactly at large. And yet not a ſyllable of *Fredelenus*, nor of either of the *Frotho*'s; no nor indeed of any other forein King, or Prince, or Adventurer, ſo much as invading *Ireland*, within or near that time, though they wanted not occaſion in *Lughad*'s Reign, and in *Caibre Ceannchaits* (as we have ſeen) to reflect on ſuch matters, if any ſuch had really been.

The

The ſame, or like argument, though but a Negative one, yet founded on the general ſilence of all the *Iriſh* Annals, Chronicles, Hiſtories, in the greateſt concern of their Nation, muſt be to every indifferent perſon a clear proof and conviction enough againſt the vain relations of *Hanmer* and *Campion*, &c. borrowed by them out of *Cambrenſis*, as by him from *Geffrey* of *Monmouth*. I mean at preſent only thoſe Fables of their great *Britiſh* Heroe King *Arthur*'s forcing the *Iriſh* Kings to pay him Tribute: and their appearing at his great Court and City of *Caer Leon* upon *Uſk*: and the *Iriſh* Monarch that (as they idly fain) was contemporary and tributary to him, to have been called *Gillemer*. In any of the *Iriſh* Annals, Chronicles, Hiſtories, there is not a ſyllable of any part of theſe matters; no not ſo much as of *Arthur*'s attempting once at any time on *Ireland*, or picking or having any quarrel with any of the Kings or Lords there. Nay *Keting* does quote *Speed* himſelf, though a late *Engliſh* Auhor, aſſerting in effect the whole to be a meer fiction, and that *Ireland* was neither ſubject nor tributary to *Arthur*. And the ſame *Keting* is poſitive herein, that there was never any King of *Ireland* by name *Gillemer*. Beſides, that *Muirchiortach Mor mhac Ercha*

Keting in his Preface.

Ercha was not only Monarch of *Ireland* when *Arthur* was King of *Great Brittain*, but in peace and amity all his life with him. Where it may be added, that if *Arthur* was created King of *Great Brittain* in the 18th year of his age, and was kill'd *Anno* 542. as *Buchanan* says he was: then certainly the said *Muirchiortarch Mor*, and his two next Succeſſours, immediately following one another, *Tuathal Maolgharbh* and *Diarmuid mhac Cearbheoil*, were thoſe three Kings or Monarchs of *Ireland* that by ſucceſſion were contemporary to the whole Reign of *Arthur*, which if *Buchanan* be judg, conſiſted of 24 years. And yet there was no quarrel at all by any of them with *Arthur*, much leſs ſubjection to him. Alſo it may be added, That as *Keting* ſays, *Fergusius* the Firſt of *Scotland* was Brother to the foreſaid *Muirchiortach* King of *Ireland*. And conſequently, that the Subjects of *Muirchiortach* were great Conquerors in the Northern parts of *Great Brittain* at that very time. Yea that, as *Buchanan* himſelf, in the Reign of *Goranus* (the XLV. King of *Scotland* in his Computation and Hiſtory) relates it, The great Battel of *Humber*, wherein *Arthur* was not only defeated but mortally wounded; nay in effect loſt both Kingdom and life, was fought againſt him by

Buchanan, *l.* 5. Rer. Scot. *in* Goran. Rege *XLV.*

by an Army of *Iriſh Scots*, however in confederacy and conjunction with the *Picts* and ſome *Brittons* led in the ſame Field by *Modroc-dus* againſt him.

Out of all which may be ſeen how unlikely the ſtories of King *Arthur* in *Polychronicon*, *Hanmer*, *Campion*, &c. which relate to *Ireland*, are. How improbable that muſt be of *Weſtmonaſterienſis*, in his years of Chriſt 497. and 592. which attributing the Monarchical power of *Ireland* to one *Gillamurius* (alias *Gillimer*) one that was never heard of in *Ireland*, repreſents him notwithſtanding as taken there by King *Arthur:* and thereupon the reſt of the *Iriſh Princes* e'en plainly forc'd to yield themſelves all and do homage to *Arthur*. How vain alſo is that of *Cambrenſis*, to the ſame purpoſe written before, telling us, *It is read, that the famous King of the* Brittons Arthur *had the Kings of* Ireland *his Tributaries, and that ſome of them waited on him in his great Court of* Caer Leon. But above all the candor and ingenuity of honeſt *Galfridus*, the firſt forger of theſe among ſo many other Fables, appears in grain; however *Cambrenſis* had not the confidence either to quote him for it, or to mention at all *Gillamurius*, though a part of it.

And yet notwithſtanding any thing hitherto either in this place, or elſewhere ſaid, I

doubt

doubt not the posterity of the ancient *Britons* have just reason if not to glory of King *Arthurs* Trophies, at least to be sorry for his untimely Death, and heartily wish, their Ancestours had not deserv'd to see their blooming hopes in him, so suddenly vanish. Though at the same time, I must ingenuously confess, there are but too too many reasons able to suspend any judicious knowing man's belief of what even *Buchanan* himself has in our own days transmitted to Posterity, for authentick Truths of this famous Kings renowned, glorious performances, *viz.* That he had continually been for many years, but most particularly and gloriously in twelve great Battels, victorious over the *Saxons*. That he took at last even *York* and *London* from them: and, after this again overthrew them in very *Essex* and *Kent*, where they were strongest and placed their last reserve. That he forc'd the remainders of them either to fly the Kingdom, or submit to his pleasure. In a word, That he restored his whole Countrey, and perfect peace unto it. And that this happy effect of his pious and victorious Armes continued until the ambition, anger, and, which you please to call it, either treacherous rebellion, or just indignation and resentment of his Nephew *Modroedus* for being put by the right of Succession, gave too great

a turn to his fortunate ſucceſſes; chiefly by the *Scottiſh*, i. e. *Iriſh* Army's falling from him, and their conjunction with *Modroedus* againſt him. For this alſo I muſt here particularly note, that during their confederacy and ſideing with him, which had early begun and always continued from the very beginning of his Wars until this unlucky difference about the ſucceſſion, and ſecond unlucky Battel of *Humber* that followed thereupon, he alſo continued perpetually ſucceſsful. But ſo ſoon as they joyn'd againſt him, fortune deſerted him, and, together with him, his Countrey. But whether ſo, or no? or whether indeed any of thoſe other particulars related of K. *Arthur* by *Buchanan* himſelf as true Hiſtory, be or be not ſuch as he would have us believe: I think enough return'd in anſwer to *Hanmer* and *Campion*'s making the Kings of *Ireland* Tributary to King *Arthur* of *Great Britain*

However, becauſe I believe it not very forrein nor much beſide the matter, I do on this occaſion add, That *Polidore Virgil* found ſo little ſatisfaction to his mind, nay ſo great certainty of untruth in the relations written of this ſo much celebrated King *Arthur*, that although in his Hiſtory (*l.* 3) he ſums up in brief (that is in ſeven or eight lines) all the Wonders of them: yet as he calls them, ſo he

he reputes them, no other than *Vulgar stories*. Which to have been his inward sentiment of those relations, may be further seen by his telling us, That although King *Arthur* died in the very flower of his youth; yet because of his exceeding great strength of body, and no less vigorous heroick bravery of Soul, Posterity has reported almost the very same Wonders of him, which in our own time are among the *Italians* Romantickly sung of *Rowland* Nephew to *Charles* the *Great*. And this, without so much as mentioning any years at all of his Reign, is all that *Polidore* has of this great *Brittish* Heroe. Save only that he was the son of King *Uter-pendragon*. That if he had lived a while (*i.e.* his just age) longer, he had at last restored his perishing Countrey. And, that but a few years before the Reign of *Henry* VIII. there was in *Glastenbury* Cloyster a very magnificent Tomb, erected to his memory: of purpose that after Ages might be thereby persuaded, he had been a Prince adorned with all whatever ought be reputed most excellently great and stupendious: and that this Tomb, as if it had been erected soon after his death, had certainly been design'd a memorial of his glory; whereas indeed the Cloister it self, wherein it stood, was not in being then. So this Author *Polydore Virgil*.

And yet after all, I cannot but acknowledg, that ſo great a concurrence of other Authors, together with the general vogue of King *Arthur*, even all along to our time in theſe Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, eſpecially conſidering that all ſides are agreed about his having exiſted or been, and been alſo about the year of Chriſt five hundred King of *Great Brittain*, muſt argue of neceſſity ſome great extraordinary exploits of his againſt the *Saxons*. Nor truly do I ſee, how otherwiſe *Polydore* himſelf cou'd ſay, That if he had lived longer a while, he had enfranchiz'd his Countrey. Neither is it a valuable argument to the contrary, at leaſt if we believe the judicious impartial *Cambden*, That the *Saxon Chronologie* or other *Saxon* Authors have nothing of him and his brave atchievements againſt them. I am ſure I have my ſelf read in *Cambden* this very day to this purpoſe, That he has obſerv'd, the *Saxon* Writers defective in this particular, *viz.* That they paſs over in ſilence what was bravely done againſt their own Nation, and only care the recording what redounded to their glory, or concern'd their own People. The concluſion of all is, That the Romantick ſtories made of King *Arthur*, by idle Wits in part, and part by others, who as they were equally ambitious to magnifie their Nation, and ignorant

norant or heedleſs, how eaſily they might be diſprov'd out of the known undoubted Hiſtories of the times, brought his true deeds into queſtion ſo far, that no man knows which, or what to believe of them.

51. To ruin the Romantick Fable indeed of *Hanmer*'s three incredible Armies * invading *Ireland* by combination at the ſame time, and this the very time when *Conſtantine* the *Great* was Emperour of *Rome*, *Cairbre Laoffiachair* Monarch of *Ireland*, and *Conn Ceadchathach*, one of the Princes of *Ulſter*, &c, the *Iriſh* Analiſts are unanimous in furniſhing us abundantly with particulars. Out of them it is clear and manifeſt, that *Conn Ceadchathach* was not one of the Princes of *Ulſter*, as *Hanmer* ſays he was, but Monarch of *Ireland*. That he came to the Monarchy in incredible *Numbers*, *as landed there is, when truly there was neither kind of* Number, *either of* Danes *Enemies troubling that Kingdom.*

* *In my* 26 page *my memory fail'd me, when relying upon it, as having not had the Hiſtory of* Hanmer *by me then, or at hand, I ſuppos'd thoſe truly* incredible *and falſe* numbers of men, *related by him, to have been really poured into* Ireland *by the* Danes *in the firſt true War made by them on that Country. Untreas indeed, upon review of* Hanmer *himſelf, I found he related thoſe very long before, that Invaſion, nor any or any other foreign*

the year of the World 5324. of Christ 122, and continued Monarch thirty five years, till he was murthered by Assassines, employ'd on that Errand by *Tibraid Tiriogh* King of *Ulster*; which happened at least a hundred and twenty years before *Constantine* the *Great* was Emperour of *Rome*. That as he was called or surnamed in Irish *Ceadchatach*, in Latin *Centimachus*, from the hundred Battels which he had fought: so he fought not any of them, or other soever against any Foreiner, but all against his own Countrey-men the native *Irish*: nor in all his Reign, as neither indeed for some Ages before and after it, did any Foreigners invade the *Irish*. That although *Cairbre Liffechaire* was Monarch of that Kingdom; begun his Reign *Anno Mundi* 5456, *Christi* 267. and continued it twenty seven years; and so perhaps might have been contemporary, for some part of his Reign, with *Constantine* the *Great* of *Rome*: yet during his Reign there was no other Battel fought in *Ireland* but the Battel of *Gowra*. I am sure none at all mention'd by *Keting*; who yet makes it the chief business of his History to mention the Battels fought in the Reign of every Monarch. That the Battel of *Gowra* was occasion'd by a difference happening and continuing some years betwixt the family or Sept of *Baoiskin*, whereof *Fionn mhac Cuuail* was

one,

one, and the Sept of *Morna*, meer *Iriſh* of the *Mileſian* Conqueſt both; and both contending for the command of the ſtanding *Militia* of the Countrey: and *Cairbre Lioffechair* the Monarch favouring one ſide, and others of great power the other; the contention at laſt came to a Battel, called from the place where it was fought the Battel of *Gowra*, where this Monarch was kill'd by one *Kirbe*. Which is all the account *Keting* has of it; but without mention of any other Fight, in this Monarchs Reign. Though by his telling us the quarrel, and the Parties that fought, you ſee they were no *Danes*, nor *Daniſh* Bowny's, but meer *Iriſh* Bowny's: and theſe neither of one ſide; but ſome of one and ſome of the other, the quarrel requiring it ſhould be ſo.

Theſe are the particulars (and many more I might add) which together with the general reaſon before them given moved me to paſs by ſo many ill-contrived ſtories as I have mention'd here, beſides many other out of *Hanmer*. But for his relation of the Battel of *Clantarff*: being it is not only almoſt in every particular ſo contrary to all the *Iriſh* Chronicles, but indeed as to the *White Daniſh Knight*, and *his injur'd Bed*, and *Sword and Scabbard*, and *thirty thouſand Danes* landed with him, *&c.* a meer Romantick ſtory: there needs no more be ſaid of it. Nor am I mo-

ved at all by *Hanmers* quoting the Book of *Houth* for himself both in this Relation and several other. 1. Because (for many reasons needless to be given here) I take not the Book of *Houth*, as neither indeed any *English* or other Foreign Author, to be of any credit in such matters of *Irish* Antiquity as preceded the *English Conquest* in *Ireland*, if otherwise in themselves either improbable, or contradicting the whole current of the genuine Monuments of that Nation, extant still, and written in their own Language. That is to say, in a Language, which neither the Authors of the Book of *Houth*, nor other *English* Writers, nor any Foreiner whatsoever could understand without the help of a very skilful perfect Scholar in it, even such a one, as among ten thousand *Irish* Natives cannot be found at present, nor could for many Ages past. 2. Because, having never seen that Book of *Houth*, I cannot rely on *Hanmers* quotation of it; as whom I have manifestly found in several places to make too bold with several other Authors. For having these Authors at hand, perused and compared them with his quotations of them, I have reason to persuade my self, that either he never read 'em, or (which must be worse) wilfully impos'd upon them against his own knowledg.

Where

53. Where I distinguish (*page* 95.) the present *Scottish* Nation into *Irish* and *English Scots*: you are to suppose that very many among these must of necessity be Descendants partly of the more ancient *Britons*, who sometimes inhabited the Northern Parts of *Great Brittain*, and partly too of the *Pictish* Nation. For the *Irish* that conquer'd both' were not so numerous then as to plant the one half, nay nor a third part of all those Countreys now comprehended under the name of *Scotland*; though they became Lords of all by that Battel wherein they destroy'd utterly the *Pictish* Kingdom. So that you may conclude, the present *English Scots* (as they are commonly call'd, but not those other who go by the name of *Scoti Albini* *) are a mix'd People, descended part from *Britons* & *Picts*, and part from *Saxons*

* George Bu- *l.* 2. Rer. Scotic. *page* 54. *tells us, That in the beginning, as well the Colonies sent by the* Irish *to the* North *of* Great Brittain, *as those that sent them, went by the common name of all their Nation, to wit that of* Scoti, *or* Scots. *But soon after, to distinguish the one from the other, those in* Ireland *were called* Scoti Jerni, *that is* Irish Scots, *and these in Brittain,* Scoti Albini, *i. e.* Albanian Scots. *So says he. And the distinction is proper and significant enough. But that other, which the* Irish *make, even to this day in their own Language, 'twixt an* Irish *and an* English *Scot, is no less observable. For the former they call* Albanach Gaodhleach, *denoting both the Countrey of his Birth* Albania, *and the Stock of his Extraction* Gathelus; *but the latter they call* Albanach Gallda, *i. e. a* Saxon *or* English Albanian.

and

and *Normans*, whether any be remaining ſtill of *Daniſh* poſterity there, I cannot tell, nor is it neceſſary in this place I ſhould. What may be of more advantage for underſtanding ſomewhat better thoſe affairs of *Scotland* is, I doubt not, this following paſſage out of *Cambden*, "After that the *Scots* were come "into *Brittain*, and had joyn'd themſelves un- "to the *Picts*, albeit they never ceas'd to vex "the *Brittons* with skirmiſhes and inroads, yet "grew they not preſently into any great "State, but kept a long time in that corner "where they firſt arrived, not daring, as "*Beda* writes, for the ſpace of 127 years to "come forth into the Field againſt the Princes "of *Northumberland*. Until at one and the "ſame time they had made ſuch a ſlaughter "of the *Picts*, that few or none of them were "left alive: and withal the Kingdom of *Nor-* "*thumberland*, what with civil Diſſentions, "what with Invaſions of the *Danes*, ſore ſha- "ken and weakned, fell at once to the ground. "For then all the Northern Tract of *Brittain* "became ſubject to them, and took their "name, together with that hithermore Coun- "trey on this ſide *Clwyd* and *Edenborough Frith*. "For that it alſo was a parcel of the Kingdom of "*Northumberland*, and poſſeſs'd by the *Engliſh* "*Saxons*, no man gainſayeth. And hereof it is "that all they which inhabit the Eaſt part of "*Scotland*, and be called *Lowland-men*, as one "would

"would say of the *Lower-Country*, are the very "off-spring of the *English Saxons*, and do speak "*English*. But they that dwell in the West "Coast, named *Highland-men*, as it were of the "upper Countrey, be meer *Scots*, and speak "*Irish*, as I have said before; and none are so "deadly Enemies as they be unto the *Lowland* "*men*, which use the *English* Tongue as we do. "Hitherto *Cambden*, (in his *Britannia*, Tit. "*Scots*. pag. 126. *Holl. Translat.*)

But as well to give the true reason why, as to particularize more exactly that period of time during which the genuine *Scots* had ceas'd from acts of hostility against the *Saxons*, I add out of *V. Bede* (in his *Eccles. Histor.* of *England. l. 2. c. ult.*) "That *Anno* "*Dom.* 603. *Edan*, King of those *Scots* that "inhabited *Britain* at that time, moved by "the success of the *Northumbrian* King *Ethel-* "*frid* against the *Britons*, drew to the Field "[*cum immenso exercitu*] with an exceeding "great Army against him, but was overcome, "and fled with a few. That in the most fa- "mous place, call'd *Degsestan*, i. e. the stone "of *Degsa*, almost his whole Army was slain. "That nevertheless, in the same Fight, *Theo-* "*baldus*, Brother to this *Ethelfride*, with all "the Force headed by him, was in like man- "ner kill'd. And that from that time for- "ward to this very day (says *Bede*, meaning "the day when he writ this) none of all the

Scottish

" *Scottiſh* Kings had been ſo daring, as to give " Battel to the *Engliſh* Nation. Which being the words of *Bede* truly rendred in *Engliſh:* and the years of his Age being 59. when he ended all his Works (and conſequently this Hiſtory) as himſelf ſays: and ſeeing alſo that he was born *Anno Dom.* 677. it follows, That ſo long at leaſt as 136 years after *Degseſtan* Fight, the *Scots* engag'd not againſt the *Engliſh.* But whether after this term expir'd, they attack'd them again before they had ruin'd the *Pictiſh* Kingdom, and at the ſame time ſeiz'd ſo great a part of the *Northumbrian*, I know not.

54. What you might have perus'd already *page* 129. as derived either from *Cambrenſis*, or *Cambden*, or both, *viz.* of the original eruption of the great *Ulſter* Lake, call'd in Iriſh *Loch Erne*, and cauſe thereof, is abundantly refuted by *Gratianus Lucius*, in his Book entitled *Cambrenſis Everſus*, page 132, and 133. Which having not ſeen before my own foreſaid 127 *page* had been wrought off the *Preſs*, makes me give now this other, which as it is much fuller, ſo I doubt not a much better and truer account, in every reſpect of that matter. The Relation of *Cambrenſis (Topograp. Hib. d. 2. c. 9.)* may be rendred thus in *Engliſh.* " There is in *Ulſter* a Lake of " vaſt extenſion, thirty miles long, and fifteen " broad; unto which, as they ſay, a wonder-

" ful

"ful chance gave beginning. In that Coun-
"trey, which is now the Lake, there was in
"very ancient times a moſt vitious Nation,
"but chiefly and incorrigibly above all other
"People of *Ireland*, given over to that ſin
"we call Beſtiality. And there was amongſt
"them a Prophetical ſaying, That ſo ſoon as
"a certain *Well* of that Countrey were at
"any time left uncovered (for out of re-
"verence to it, proceeding from barbarous
"ſuperſtition, it had both a covering and ſig-
"nature, or lock) it ſhould preſently over-
"flow ſo prodigiouſly as to drown the whole
"Countrey thereabouts. Which accordingly
"happen'd on this occaſion. One of the
"Countrey Women having open'd it to bring
"Water home, it chanc'd that before ſhe had
"throughly done, ſhe heard her Child a little
"diſtance off crying: and going in haſte to
"ſtill him, ſhe forgot to cover the Well.
"Whereupon it overflow'd on a ſudden ſo
"ſtrangely, that not only the Woman her
"ſelf and her Child with her, but all the
"People univerſally and all the very Cattel
"too of the whole Countrey for very many
"miles, were, as by a particular and Provin-
"cial Deluge, covered, overwhelmed, pe-
"riſhed utterly in the Waters. As if the Au-
"thor of Nature had judg'd that Land un-
"worthy of Inhabitants, which had been con-
"ſcious of ſuch enormous turpitude againſt
"Nature.

"Nature. And indeed that such had been "the original of this Lake, it is no improbable "argument, that the Fishermen upon it do "manifestly in fair serene weather see, under "them in the Water, Church Turrets, which "according to the fashion of those in that "Land are not only narrow and high, but "round withal; and that they often shew "them to passengers wafted over this Lake, "who are strangely astonished at the sight and "cause. You are also to note, That the "River which abundantly flows out of the "same Lake, being one of the nine Principal "Rivers of *Ireland*, namely the *Ban*, did even "from the beginning (that is, ever since the "time of *Bartholanus*) though in a much "smaller stream, flow from the foresaid *Well* "all along that Countrey, other Waters fal-"ling into it still as it went farther off. Hi-"therto *Gerald* of *Wales*. But to this Rela-"tion of his, it will not be amiss to add what "*Cambden* says applying it, and interpreting "and making this nameless Pool to be the "famous *Loch Erne* of so many miles in length "and breadth, and the People destroy'd to "have been some *Hebridians* got thither.

Cambden's *Ireland in* Hollands *Translation of it*, page 106.

"Beyond *Cavan* (says he) "West & North, *Fermanach* "presenteth it self, where "sometimes the *Erdini* dwelt.

"2

"a Countrey full of Woods, and very bog-
"gish. In the midſt whereof is that famous
"and greateſt Meere of all Ireland, *Loch Erne*,
"ſtretching out forty miles, bordered about
"with ſhady Woods, and paſſing full of in-
"habited Iſlands, whereof ſome contain a
"hundred, two hundred, three hundred acres
"of ground: having beſides ſuch ſtore of
"Pikes, Truots, and Salmons, that the Fiſher-
"men complain oftner of too great plenty
"of Fiſhes, and of the breaking of their Nets,
"than they do for want of draught. This
"Lake ſpreadeth not from Eaſt to Weſt (as
"it is deſcrib'd in the common Maps) but,
"as I have heard thoſe ſay who have taken
"a long and good ſurvey thereof, firſt at *Bel*
"*Tarbet*, which is a little Town fartheſt North
"of any in this County of *Cavan*, it ſtretch-
"eth from South to North fourteen miles in
"length, and four in breadth. Anon it draw-
"eth in narrow, to the bigneſs of a good
"River, for ſix miles, in the Channel where-
"of ſtandeth *Iniskellin*, the principal Caſtle in
"this Tract, which in the year 1593. was
"defended by the Rebels, and by *Dowdal* a
"moſt valiant Captain won. Then, coming
"Weſtward, it enlargeth it ſelf moſt of all,
"twenty miles long, and ten broad, as far as
"to *Belek*: near unto which is a great down-
"fal of Water, and as they term it, that

"moſt

" moſt renowned *Salmon's Leapue.* A com-
" mon ſpeech among the Inhabitants thereby, is
" That this Lake was once firm ground, paſ-
" ſing well husbanded with Tillage, and re-
" pleniſh'd with Inhabitants; but ſuddenly
" for their abominable buggery committed
" with Beaſts, overflown with Waters, and
" turn'd to a Lake. Though Almighty God
" (ſays *Giraldus*) Creator of Nature, judg'd
" this Land, privy to ſo filthy Acts againſt
" Nature, unworthy to hold not only the firſt
" Inhabitants, but any other for the time to
" come. Howbeit this wickedneſs the *Iriſh*
" *Annals* lay upon certain Iſlanders out of the
" *Hebrides*, who being fled out of their own
" Countrey, lurked there. So he.

Againſt theſe Relations, the one of *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, and the other of *Cambden*; though the later, as to the original of this Lake, is wholly grounded on the former, *Gratianus Lucius* oppoſes many Reaſons. 1. That all the *Iriſh* Annals and Hiſtories, who treat of *Loch Ern*, attribute the original of it, not to the overflowing of any Well or River, but to a meer eruption of Waters out of the very entrails of the Earth, without any kind of mention of Beſtiality or other ſin of the Inhabitants which might at all any way deſerve it. 2. That this Eruption happened in the Reign of

of *Fiacha Lauranne* * King of *Ireland*, immediately after the great Victory got by Him over the remainders of the Nation call'd *Fir-bholg*, who till then had kept and inhabited that Tract of ground where this Lake did ſo burſt forth on a ſudden: and conſequently, That it happen'd before the year of the World 3751. becauſe, according to the *Iriſh* Chronology, *Fiacha Laurainne* came to the Crown of *Ireland* by killing his Predeceſſor *Eochuidh Fuibherghlas*, in the year of the World 3727. and held it twenty years more, or rather to the year of the World 3751. when himſelf was likewiſe kill'd by *Eochuidh Mumho* that ſucceeded him in the Sovereignty. 3. That ſuch, and ſo early to have been the original of this Lake, without either *beſtiality*, or *Well*, or other enormous or miraculous cauſe mention'd by any *Iriſh* Records or Books, *Amhirgin* the ſon of *Amhalgadh mbic Mholruana* had delivered in the Etymological Book which he not only compos'd of all the chief places, Countreys, Tracts of *Ireland*, but rehears'd before *Diarmuid O Cearbheoil* the Monarch, and other Princes and Peers of the Nation aſſembled together at *Tarach*, about the year of Chriſt 500: adding

* *But* Keting *ſays it happen'd under the Reign of* Tighermhais *(alias* Tighterm-huir*) forty ſix years before* Fiacha Labhraina *came to be King.*

withal in the ſame Book, that ſome former Hiſtorians were of opinion, This Lake had a long time, yea many Ages after the beginning, taken its denomination of *Erne* a Maid ſervant to the famous *Meabh Chruachain*, Queen of *Connaght*, drown'd therein. Which *Meabh Chruachain* was Daughter to *Eochuidh Feilioch* the Monarch, Author of the *Pentarchy*, who ended both his Reign and life in the year of the World 5069. that is, according to the account follow'd by *Lucius*, a hundred and thirty one years before the Incarnation of our Lord. 4. That hence appears not only the falſity of the Relation it ſelf, but the Ignorance of the Relatour *Cambrenſis* (in the Hiſtory of *Ireland*) where he ſays, That *Church-Towers* were ſeen in that Lake he deſcribes to have had ſo prodigious an original: inſinuating hereby, as if *Loch Ern* had its beginning after the plantation of *Chriſtianity* in that Kingdom. Whereas we have now ſeen it was broke out even 1427. before the very birth of Chriſt, which was in the year of the World 5199. Beſides, it is moſt certain, that thoſe *high, round, narrow* Towers of ſtone, built cylinder-wiſe, whereof *Cambrenſis* ſpeaks, were never known or built in *Ireland* (as indeed no more were any Caſtles, Houſes, or even Churches of ſtone, at leaſt in the *North* of *Ireland*) before the year of Chriſt 838. when

when the Heathen *Danes* poſſeſſing a great part of that Countrey, built them in ſeveral places, to ſerve themſelves as Watch-Towers againſt the Natives. Though ere long, the *Danes* being expuls'd, the *Chriſtian Iriſh* turn'd them to another and much better (becauſe a holy) uſe, that is to Steeple-Houſes or Bell-Fries, to hang Bells in for calling the People to Church. From which later uſe made of them, it is, that ever ſince to this preſent, they are call'd in Iriſh *Cloctheachs*, that is Bell-Fries, or Bell-Houſes; *Cloc* or *Clog*, ſignifying a Bell, and *Teach* a Houſe in that Language. And further yet, my Author *Gratianus Lucius* adds out of the undoubted Monuments or Lives both of *Columb Cille* and S. *Patrick*, that even as early as either of thoſe holy men's time, *Loch Erne* was the ſame it is now. For *O Donel* writes in his Life of *Columb Cill* l. 1. c. 88. That S. *Columb* by his ſpecial bleſſing and Prayer to God, obtained not only that fecundity of Fiſh to the Lake, which ever ſince it has been bleſſed with, but that the cataract or Fall of it ſhould be lower than it was before, whereby the leap of the Salmon became eaſier. And S. *Ewin* writes, *part* 2. *c.* 110. *of S. Patric's Life*, that this great Apoſtle of *Ireland*, to puniſh the frowardneſs of the Lord of the Countrey next adjoyning to the Northern ſide of this Lake, curs'd the ſame ſide

of it, and ſo bereav'd it of its former fruitfulneſs. Out of which Narrations or Lives (whatſoever may be ſaid or thought of the Miracles) it is plain enough, that ſo long before theſe *narrow, high, round Turrets* built by the *Danes*, *Loch Erne* was the ſame it is at preſent. 5. That *Ptolomee*, who flouriſh'd about the year of Chriſt 153. deſcribes *Loch Erne* in the ſame manner, and place the modern Geographers do, calling alſo the Inhabitants of that Tract *Erdini*. 6. That nothing can be more clear and manifeſt than *Girald* and *Cambden*'s contradicting one another, or certainly both truth and experience each of them. For *Cambrenſis* plainly ſays, that the River of *Ban* flows out of the Lake, he reports to have had the foreſaid prodigious original; and *Cambden* no leſs plainly and poſitively averrs that Lake which had ſo ſtrange a beginning to be the Lake *Erne:* and yet all *Ireland knows*, and *Cambden* himſelf in ſeveral places, though more perceptibly to the eye in his Map of *Ireland*, ſhews that the ſaid River *Ban* flows, not out of *Loch Ern*, but out of another, by name *Loch Neauch*, which is at leaſt threeſcore miles from the Lake *Ern*. 7. And laſtly, that there are no ſuch *Iriſh Annals* known or heard of in *Ireland*, which impute either that cauſe or effect of it, whereof *Cambden* ſpeaks, to thoſe *Hebridians* mention'd

tion'd by him, or to any other People or Nation whatſoever. So that, out of all we may ſafely conclude, the whole Relation of the foreſaid infamous Original of *Loch Erne* to be no better than an old Wives Tale. Which after I had lighted by chance on *Gratianus*, I thought my ſelf the rather obliged to obſerve here, becauſe I had formerly in writing and printing what you have in my 59 *page*, either ſeem'd to be ſomewhat perſuaded by the Authority of *Cambden* (though only taking up the relation from *Cambrenſis*, and withal telling us, I know not from whom, of *Iriſh Annals* in the caſe) or becauſe at leaſt I had not ſufficienly cleared ſo injurious a Report.

55. And now let me tell you on this occaſion, that e'n ſuch another if not yet more injurious, ill grounded, falſe Report is that which the ſame *Cambrenſis* is the only firſt Original Author of, in his *Topography* of *Ireland* (*diſt.* 3. *cap.* 25.) where he tells us, " That the People " of *Tirconel*, a Countrey in the North of " *Ulſter*, created their King in this barbarous " abominable manner. That all being aſſem- " bled together in one place, a white Beaſt " was brought before them. Unto which he " that was choſen to be made King approach- " ing, declared himſelf publickly before them " all to be ſuch another, that is, a meer Beaſt.

"Whereupon the white Beaſt was cut in pieces, "boil'd in Water; and, that done, a bath "prepar'd for him of the Broth. Into which "entring, and bathing, and then feeding, "and all the People too about him feeding in "the ſame manner on the fleſh boil'd in it; "at laſt he drinks of that very broth wherein "he had already bathed; and this alſo not "by reaching or taking it out of any Cup "or other Veſſel, nay not ſo much as out of "the palm of his hand, but by ſtooping and "putting down his mouth like a Beaſt on all "ſides of the very bathing Ciſtern or Caul- "dron at large, wherein he had waſh'd. "Which being over, the whole Rite and "Solemnity of his inauguration was ended, "and he compleatly inſtall'd in his Kingſhip "of *Tirconel*. So ſays *Cambrenſis*, intimating hereby, as if this filthy cuſtom held in that Countrey even in his own time.

But *Keting* has abundantly refuted this no leſs filthy abominable Fiction; where he ſhews at large, in the Reign of *Brian Boraimh*, the known, ſolemn, decent and ſignificant Rites, yea and places too of Inaugurating every King and Prince in all the Provinces of *Ireland*; and who were the Lords, or which were the Families that bore the chief Offices at the reſpective Inaugurations. Particularly as to the Prince of *Tirconel*, namely *O Donel*, of

of whoſe creation this Fable of *Cambrenſis* muſt be underſtood, the ſame *Keting* ſhews that the place both of his Election or Inauguration or Inveſtiture was *Cill-mhic-Creunain*; and the chief Officers at it were *O Fiorghaill*, who carried before him and ſolemnly put into his hand the *White Rod*, which was his Scepter, and *O Gallechuir*, who was his Marſhal. But *Gratianus Lucius* (page 316 of his *Cambrenſis Everſus*) takes a little more pains in this particular. He tells in the firſt place, how, when any was to be created *O Donel*, all the Eſtates of the Countrey met together upon a certain Hill. And how, the Aſſembly being full, one of the greateſt Peers amongſt them, riſing up and ſtanding in the middle of the multitude with a pure white, ſtreight, unknotty Rod in his hand, addreſs'd himſelf to the new Elect in this manner and words, *Receive Sir the auſpicious Enſign of your Dignity, and remember to imitate in your Life and Government the whiteneſs, and ſtreightneſs, and unknottineſs of this Rod: to the end no evil Tongue may find cauſe to aſperſe the candour of your Actions with blackneſs, nor any kind of corruption or tye of friendſhip be able to pervert your Juſtice. Take therefore upon you in a lucky hour the Government of this People, and exerciſe the Power given you hereby with all freedom and ſecurity.* And how, theſe words ſpoken, he deliver'd

the Rod into the Prince's Hand: and so the whole Solemnity was percloſed. In the next place *Lucius* deſires it may be conſider'd, that the whole controverſie in this matter with *Cambrenſis* may be in ſhort reduced to theſe Queries, Whether we ought to believe one Hear-ſay-mans denial before the affirmation of very many both ear and eye-witneſſes? Whether Domeſtick Writers, eſpecially thoſe whoſe peculiar employment, calling, charge it is are not more likely to deliver the truth of matters to Poſterity, than a meer Foreigner that not only never was in the Countrey he ſpeaks of (as *Cambrenſis* was never in *Tirconel*) but ſhews himſelf in too too many Inſtances a perfect Enemy even to all that wiſh it well? And whether we owe belief rather to publick National Records and Monuments, than to the Narration of a private man, which was not more purpoſely invented by ſome Bard or Ballad-monger, than deſirouſly taken up by an invidious Writer? Thirdly to theſe and after theſe Queſtions *Lucius* in effect anſwers and reaſons thus: That without queſtion the *Iriſh* Chroniclers wrote of theſe matters to diſcharge the duty of their place; but *Girald* both in his *Topographical* and *Hiſtorical* Books of *Ireland* (ſuch as they be) yielded ſo far to paſſion, even that of extream hatred, as made him not only obſcure

ſcure the Truth, but ſuppreſs it even with manifeſt Lyes and Fictions. That no indifferent conſidering Perſon can believe, that St. *Patrick*, who accurately ſurveying this Countrey of *Tirconel*, converted all the People of it, and together with them inſtructed ſo their Prince *Conall Gubhan* in the auſtereſt principles of Chriſtianity, that in a ſecular habit he lived an Hermits Life, would have permitted ſuch filthy dregs of Pagan ſuperſtition to remain, Jocelin, *c.* 138. had there been any ſuch: and this not only among the baſer obſcure ſort of *Plebeians*, but among the very moſt illuſtrious, the very Princes themſelves of the People. That if ſuch obvious and conſpicuous turpitude had (which is not credible) eſcap'd the knowledg of St. *Patrick*, who lived among 'em threeſcore years: aſſuredly it could by no means have eſcap'd either the notice or reprehenſion of thoſe many other Saints, who in the ſucceſſion of ſo many after-Ages of Chriſtian Religion lived in that very Countrey of *Tirconel*. That above fifty eminent Saints are upon Record of thoſe deſcended from the Loins of that *Conall Gubhan* alone, whereof the greateſt part fix'd their dwelling there, and built alſo there above twenty Monaſteries. That the two Epiſcopal Sees of *Doire* and *Rapoth* were conſtituted in thoſe early

early days in the ſame moſt Northern Tract of *Ulſter:* wherein as many Biſhops and Abbots ſucceeded one another, ſo many religious Watchmen muſt be acknowledg'd to have been viewing far and near about them in ſuch manner, as it was morally impoſſible ſo hideous, and withal ſo publick notorious a blemiſh, could all along, even for ſix hundred years compleat, till the time of *Cambrenſis*, eſcape their animadverſion. That betwixt many of the Biſhops and Abbots of thoſe two Dioceſes, and the Lords (or Princes or Kings, which you pleaſe to call 'em) of *Tirconel*, there was often both very great familiar friendſhip and near kindred too. That if the reverence of the Princes did awe other Prelates from reprehending this naſty beſtial ceremony of their creation: undoubtedly, at leaſt among their kinſmen Prelates, ſome would have been found that out of Nature and for the ſake of conſanguinity would have admoniſh'd them, and procured the reformation of it. That no man can believe, that the Saints *Columb-Cille*, *Bathenus*, *Laſrenus*, *Fergnaus*, *Suibhneus*, *Adamnanus*, and other moſt holy men, who had both their extraction and birth, and their Education too in all Piety in *Tirconel*, and been ſuch fearleſs undaunted tramplers under foot of all Vice and ſuperſtition, would not have cut off by the root ſo hideous, loathſom, brutiſh a cuſtom,

if

if any such in their days had been. That in case these great servants of God had wanted power enough to do so: yet surely the more powerful Saints *Moelbridius* and *Malachias*, Primats of all *Ireland*, who derived their extraction from that Countrey of *Tirconel*; would not have suffer'd the example to continue. That besides, it is beyond belief, That the very Princes themselves of *Tirconel*, whereof so many were famous for Humanity, Liberality, Piety, Religion, would have enter'd on their Princedom by so inauspicious and execrable a Rite. Lastly, that without any perad venture, if they, or their People, had prov'd herein pertinacious, yet so many pious excellent Monarchs of *Ireland*, as we have before seen, who had supream Authority over them, would not have connived at it. So, in effect, *Lucius*, against this equally injurious, vain, ridiculous, filthy Fiction, vented first of any Mortal, as the former of *Loch Ern*, by *Girald* of *Wales*.

56. Of *Aonach Tailltinn* the most celebrated *Irish* Fair, both for Antiquity and resemblance of the *Olympic* Games of *Greece*, exhibited therein (which I only mention'd in my foresaid 95 *page*) the Author was *Lugha Lambfhada* the Twelfth King of *Ireland* after *Slanius*, but Third of the Nation called *Fir-bholg*, e'en so long since as betwixt two and three hundred years before the *Milesians* conquer'd that Kingdom.

Kingdom. The occaſion this: When the Ninth and laſt *Fir-bholgian* King of the Poſterity of *Dela*, by name *Eoghan*, was kill'd in Battel, and the Kingdom ſeiz'd by new Invaders, the Nation of *Tuadedainin*, it happen'd that *Tailtinn* Daughter to *Madhmor* King of *South-Spain*, but Widow and Queen to the ſaid *Eoghan*, having married *Eochadh Garbh* a Nobleman of the new Conquerors, bred the foreſaid *Lugha* with great care and kindneſs in his youth. Wherefore he, when he came to the Crown, retaining thereof a moſt grateful remembrance, and holding himſelf bound to requite her love in the beſt manner he could, thought fit to ordain, as accordingly he did, for a perpetual memory of her, one and thirty days in all, *viz.* the fifteen immediately preceding our firſt day of *Auguſt*, and the other fifteen next following it, to be ſolemnly kept in all Ages both by a general concourſe of the braveſt men out of all parts of the Kingdom, at a place in *Meath* called *Tailtinn* from her name, and by all ſorts of manly Games and Exerciſes there, as thoſe of Running, Hunting, Wreſtling, Leaping, Vaulting, Tilting, *&c.* and by prizes alſo given to the Victors. That ſo lately before the *Engliſh Conqueſt*, as the year 1168. *Ruaruidh O Conchavair* the laſt *Iriſh* Monarch held this great Fair of *Tailtinn* and exhibited thoſe *Olympick* Games with much ſolemnity,

ſolemnity. For ſo *Gratianus Lucius* has told us in his *Roman* phraſe, *Ludos Taltinos dedit*, as we have ſeen elſewhere. And the ſame Author adds, That the Calends or firſt day of *Auguſt*, though in after-times among Chriſtians, at leaſt thoſe of the *Roman* Church, dedicated to the *Chains* of St. *Peter*, and therefore, in the *Roman* Calendar, call'd *Petri ad Vincula*, has nevertheleſs in all Ages been, as it is at preſent, in memory of the foreſaid King, by all the *Iriſh* Nation call'd in their Language *Lugh-Naſa*, which imports in Engliſh the *Remembrance of Lewis*; for *Naſa* is remembrance, and *Lugh*, the ſame with *Lewis* or *Luis*. But *Keting* ſays that Queen *Tailtinn*, whom he honour'd ſo much, had been his own Wife; though whether in a third Venture, or no, he does not ſay.

57. There is mention made (*page* 122 and 213) of the Monarch *Ollamh Fodhlas*'s having ordain'd in every Town a Receiver and Entertainer of Strangers. But the particulars of that Ordinance and practice of it as I find them in *Keting* and *Lucius* being very ſingular, I thought fit to give here, the rather becauſe the Character of *Gens inhoſpita*, (that is, an *inhoſpitable Nation*) is given the *Iriſh* by *Gerald* of *Wales* (*Top. diſt.* 3. *cap.* 10.) ſo much againſt Truth. And certainly, for what concerns the more ancient times, it will appear out of what here follows of their extraordinary

traordinary care to provide entertainment for all Comers, that their Hoſpitality in thoſe days of yore was unmatchable in *Europe*. I am ſure it was ſo in any place or Countrey that ever I have read of. The dignity of an Entertainer, ſays *Lucius*, no where elſe uſed, was among the *Iriſh* beſtow'd only on thoſe deſcended of Noble Families. Nor was any capable of it, that was not Lord *Proprietary* of ſeven Towns, I mean *Feeding Towns*, (as *Keting* ſays, the *Iriſh* call in their Language all towns whatſoever properly ſuch; *Bailte Biatha*;) each Town conſiſting of twelve Plow-lands of *Iriſh* Meaſure, which is three or four times twelve of *Engliſh*. He muſt beſides have had ſeven Ploughs continually going, and withal been Maſter of ſeven Herds of Cows, each Herd conſiſting of a hundred and twenty full. His Manſion Houſe ſo ſeated, as to have been acceſſible by four ſeveral ways. A Hog, a Sheep, a Beef, always ready in the Pot, or on the Spit, to the end that every hour without delay, whoever came might be inſtantly fed. The like number of Beaſts ready kill'd and fley'd, to be put to the fire as the former was taken up. Every order and degree of men, according to their quality, had their Entertainment, both meat and drink, aſſign'd by Rule, ſo as the Entertainer, if he defrauded any was certain to be

be fined for it, by the proportionable leſſening of his immunities and other Priviledges. Sundry ſorts of drinks, were ſerv'd in ſundry ſorts of Cups. In Glaſs, Wine: in Braſs, Water: in Silver, Whey: in white Cups of Aſh, Beer: and in brown ones made of Fig-tree, Milk. Hitherto *Lucius* (in his *Camb. Everſ. page* 130.) Who yet farther adds in the ſame place, out of *Keting*, what you will peradventure no leſs, if not much more wonder at, the exceeding great number of thoſe *Free-coſt* entertaining Towns, or Houſes deputed in ſuch Towns by the publick, throughout *Ireland*. In *Connaght* 900. in *Ulſter* the like number: in *Leinſter*, 930. in *Mounſter* a 1030.

58. In my 217 *page*, there is likewiſe upon a far other occaſion ſome little mention made of the victorious Monarch *Tuathal Teatchtmhor*, though much more elſewhere before in one or two places. However this place is that which as I was reviewing it, has brought to my remembrance what follows here out of *Keting*. As 1. That before his time, *Ireland* was equally divided into *Mounſter*, *Leinſter*, *Connaght*, and *Ulſter*; each of theſe Diviſions meeting at a place, and of the ſides of a great ſtone fix'd in that place, called *Viſneach*, which is in the Countrey that goes now by the name of *Weſt Meath*. 2. That when

when he had after twenty five years war totally ſubdued the *Plebeian* Rebels, and reſtor'd both the Gentry to their Eſtates, and the true Royal Blood and Heirs to their reſpective Provincial Kingdoms, he thought fit to take, as he accordingly did, with their conſent, from each of thoſe Diviſions a conſiderable Tract of ground, which was the next adjoyning to *Viſneach:* one *Eaſt*, an other *Weſt*, a third *South* and the fourth on the North of it: and appointed all four, under the name of *Meath* (but as comprehending our Counties now of Eaſt and Weſt-*Meath*) to belong for evermore to the Monarchs own peculiar Demain, for the maintenance of his Table. 3. That on thoſe four ſeveral portions, he built four ſeveral Kingly Pallaces, for himſelf and his Heirs, *viz. Tleaghtghae* on that of *Mounſter* ſide; *Tailltin* Houſe, on *Ulſter*'s; an other at *Tarach*, on *Leinſter*'s portion; and the fourth on the Weſt of *Viſneach*, taken from *Connaght:* ordaining withal great Solemnities at each of them to be kept on certain days yearly for ever. At *Tlaghtghae* the ſacred but Idolatrous Fire to be kindled on our *All Hallows* Eve. All Magitians of the Kingdom to come thither that night, and ſacrifice to their Deities in that Fire. All the other Fires throughout the Kingdom to be put out then, and under great penalties not kindled

kindled again, but from or out of this holy Fire of *Tlaghtghae*. And every houſe in the Kingdom, as receiving from this new conſecrated Fire, and becauſe the ground of *Tleaghthae* had been formerly the *Mounſter* King's Dominion, to pay him yearly three pence for ever. At *Viſneach* Houſe, or that which he had built hard by and Weſt of it on the ground taken from the *Connaght* King; he ordained, That each *May* day for ever, a general Meeting of all the Nobility ſhould be held, (which Meeting they call'd in their Language *Morhail Viſneach*; and it may be Engliſh'd, *the Magnificence of Viſneach.*) That two great Fires ſhould be made at this Meeting, and betwixt them both all beaſts ſacrific'd to their great God *Beile* (which *Keting* conceives to have been the ſame with *Belus*) for expiating their ſins, appeaſing his wrath, and obtaining from him favour for the following year. That the ſame day and hour, in every Diſtrict or Territory of the whole Kingdom, two ſuch other Fires ſhould be made for the like purpoſe, that is for all the reſpective Inhabitants to reſort unto them with their Heathen Prieſts and ſacrifices. In fine, that every Chieftain and perſon of Quality come to the ſaid great Meeting at *Viſneach*, ſhould preſent the *Connaght* King with a Horſe and compleat harneſs for a Horſeman, as a Chiefry reſerv'd

to him for that ground. Where *Keting* adds, that from these yearly Paganical Fires at *Visneach*, and elsewhere, made in those days of Idolatry, to honour *Beall*, it is that ever since, even along to this very day, the *Irish* call the first of May *Lae Beall-tine*, which imports in English *Beall's Fire day:* for in their Tongue *Lae* is day, and *Tine* is Fire. At, or near the Palace of *Tailltionn*, he by a new Ordinance of his own commanded the ancient Fair, called *Aonach Tailltinn* (whereof we have spoke before) to be kept yearly on *Lammas* day with much more solemnity and a far greater conflux of people than ever. And there it was that Wedding-matches were usually treated, agreed upon, concluded betwixt the Parents of young Folks. And by this Monarchs new Law, every couple, marrying there, paid six shillings eight pence (which the *Irish* then did call *Vinghe Airgiod*, an ounce of Silver) to the King of *Ulster*, as an acknowledgment of his having formerly been Lord of that portion. But for *Tarach* (alias *Teambhuir*) where he had built his fourth Royal Palace, I find nothing ordained by him concerning any solemnity or Assembly there. And the reason (I suppose) might be, that even the very greatest and most solemn Assembly of all the Estates in Parliament, either to make new Laws, and repeal the old,

or

or to exercise any other Acts of Supream Jurisdiction, had been already both by Law and Custom fix'd in that place, ever since *Ollamh Fodhlas*'s Reign, that is full 1200. years, wanting only seventeen, before *Tuathal Teachtmhor* came to be King. No more do I find any duty or Chiefry payable to the K. of *Leinster*. Whereof I conceive also the reason might have been, That indeed (as *Keting* elsewhere, and upon an other occasion than this here, observes) *Cairbre Niafearr* the very first King of *Leinster*, had full two hundred and six years before *Tuathal Teachtmor*'s time, pass'd away both his own right, and that of his Successors after him, in the foresaid portion of Land wherein *Tarach* was built, and for ever made it over by way of sale and bargain, to *Connor* the first King of *Ulster* and his Successours after him, in lieu of his beloved Daughter by name *Feilim Nua Chrothach*, or *Felicia* the *Beautiful*, whom *Cairbre* had bought so dear to be his Wife. So dear I say, because that fourth portion from *Visneach* to the *Eastern* Sea, being in his time, and until this bargain made, part of *Leinster*, contain'd three *Cantreds* of Land of the very best in *Ireland*, even all the Land which now goes under the name of the County of *Meath* (I mean *East-Meath*) along to *Drogbedagh*, besides *Fingale*, and all the other Lands too

on that side of the River *Liffy* to *Dublin*. But if you desire to know what, or how much Land a *Cantred* means, being I have told but now of three *Cantreds* in this Fourth portion: *Cambrensis*, in his *Hiber expug. l. 2. c. 18.* answers, that as well in the *Irish* as *Brittish* Tongue, by a *Cantred* is meant that proportion or quantity of Land which usually contains a hundred Villages. And whether *Keting* disagree in this signification of that word, I know not certainly, because I know not how much Land *Cambrensis* would assign to a Village, or *Villa* his *Latin* term. Of this I am certain, that *Keting* assigns (according to the *Irish* account) but thirty Feeding Towns, or *Bailte Hiath* as he calls 'em, to a *Cantred*, every one of them containing twelve Plowlands, and every Plowland a hundred and twenty acres of *Irish* measure, which is commonly three or four times greater than the *English*. And this is both reflection and digression enough occasion'd by the mention made of *Tuathal Teachtmhor* the *Irish* Monarch in my foresaid 217. *page*.

59. My next Reflection is to correct an Error, which I observe in my 229. *page*. For there, (and whether through my own mistake or the Printers, I know not) it is said, That *Connor*, the first Provincial King of *Ulster*, was made so by *Eochuidh Feileach* the Monarch and

and Author of the *Pentarchy*, about 400 years before the Birth of Christ: whereas indeed it could not be so much, by at least two hundred and eighteen years. Because this Monarch *Eochadh Feileach*, who made that *Connor* King of *Ulster*, could not make him King before himself was Monarch; and this he was not before the year of the World 5057. in which he kill'd his Predecessor and possess'd his Throne. Now, according to the Chronology of *Lucius*, that year of the World was just one hundred forty two years before the Birth of our Lord; because (says he) this Birth happened in the year of the World 5199. after the deluge 2957. and in the 8th year, as some say, or (as others) in the 12th year of the Monarch of Ireland *Criomthain Niadhairs* Reign. Now 'tis plain, that from the year 5057, to the year 5099. no more efflux'd but 142 years.

60. The review of my 229. *page*, and what is given there, of that happy King of Mounster *Feilim mhac Criomthain*, brings to my thoughts here, a passage in *Keting* that is very singular, both for the Author and matter of it. The Author is holy *Benuin* as the *Irish* call him in their Language, whom the *Latins* call St. *Benignus*, even that very beloved Disciple of St. *Patrick* their great Apostle, who was consecrated and install'd by him in his own days

and in his own ſtead, Arch-biſhop of *Ardmagh*. And the matter is the magnificent and coſtly progreſs of the Kings of *Caſhel* in former times about *Leath Cuinn* and *Leath Mogh* throughout all *Ireland*. And, ſays *Keting*, it is in the *Iriſh* Book call'd *Leabhar na Geart* (i.e. the *Book of Rights or Dues*, a Book beginning with theſe words, *Dligh gach Riogh O Riogh Caſſil*, and a Book written wholly by S. *Benignus* himſelf 1200 years ſince) that the particulars of that ſtately Progreſs are ſet down, as here they follow. Beſtow'd by him (that is, by the King of *Caſhel*, when he went that Progreſs) on the King of *Cruachain* a hundred Swords, a hundred Cups of Plate, a hundred Horſes, and a hundred Mantles. Receiv'd from this *Cruachain* or *Connaght* King half a years entertainment, and the *Riſing out* (as they call it) of all the Countrey, waiting on him to *Tirconail*. Beſtow'd by him on the King of *Cineal Gonuill*, twenty Rings, twenty pair of Tables (which they call'd *Fithchioll*) and twenty Horſes. Received a months entertainment, and the riſing out of that Countrey, along with him to *Tir-oghain*. Beſtow'd by him on the King of *Oileach*, fifty Silver Cups, and fifty Swords. Receiv'd a months entertainment, and the waiting of the Countrey on him to *Tullenoge*. Beſtow'd by him on the Lord or Chieftain of *Tullenoge* thirty Silver Bowls, and thirty

thirty Swords or Lances. Receiv'd twelve days entertainment, and waiting on (as elſewhere) to *Oirgialluibh*. Beſtow'd by him on this King (I mean of *Oirghialluibh*) eight ſhirts of Mayle, ſixty Coats, and ſixty Horſes. Receiv'd a months entertainment at *Eambaine*, with the riſing out into *Ulſter* againſt *Clanna Ruidhruidh*. Beſtow'd by him on the King of *Tarach* 30 ſhirts of Mayle, thirty Rings, a hundred Horſe, and thirty Harpers. Receiv'd there a months entertainment, and the four chief Families accompanying him thence to *Dublin*. Beſtow'd by him on the King of *Dublin* ten Women, ten Ships, and ten Horſes. Receiv'd a months entertainment, and this Kings Company into *Leinſter*. Beſtow'd by him on the *Leinſter* King thirty Cows, thirty Ships, thirty Horſes, and thirty young Maids which they termed *Cumbhall*. Receiv'd two months entertainment, *i.e.* one months from *Upper Leinſter*, and another from the *Lower*, which they call *Jachter Laighion*. Finally, to the *Taniſt* of the ſame *Low-Leinſter*, thirty Horſes, thirty ſhirts of Mayle, and 30 Swords. And this was the coſtly ſplendour of that general Progreſs of the *Mounſter* Kings over *Ireland* in former Ages, when they thought fit to make or undertake it. Which *Feidlimidius* (alias *Felim mhac Criomthain*) King of that Province did in his Reign; and this no lon-

ger since then the 845 year of Christ, for he enter'd upon that Kingdom *An. Dom.* 818. and retir'd from it to lead an Eremitical Life in the 27th yearafter. What the Original or Rise of it was, or what right a Provincial King of *Mounster* could pretend to such a Progress, I do not find. Nor do I know what moved *Keting* to desire the Reader not to account him the Author of the Relation. Or why so contrary to his custome elsewhere generally throughout his whole Chronicle, he quotes here the Author. It had been indeed very well, and much to be wish'd, that he had done so all along for his other Relations. But here perhaps he thought fit to do it of purpose to decline the invidious Censure of those of other Provinces, for magnifying so much his own Province of *Mounster* without so good a warrant as *Benuin*'s Book. Whatever his motive was, the Relation it self puts me upon some occasional observations here; which shall be in all three.

First Observation; That *Dublin* must have been a considerable place in the days of *Benuinn*, seeing it had then, or at least before his time a King, and was a Kingdom of it self, different from that of *Leinster*. And therefore that however, or whenever it was first after that time destroy'd; yet surely none of those three *Norvegian* Brethren, *Amelacus*, *Sitaracus*, & *Juor*, was the first Founder, but only the Repairer and

and Fortifyer of it a little before the ſecond *Daniſh* War. In which perſuaſion I am fix'd by conſidering that in the Chorographical Tables of *Ptolomy*, who flouriſh'd under the Emperour *T. Aurelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius*, in the year of Chriſt 153. the People *Eblani*, and the City *Eblana* is placed where *Dublin* has always been. And therefore *Eblana* in *Ptolomy* is the very ſelf-ſame Town we now call *Dublin*; the *Latin* Writers, *Dublinium*, and *Dublinia*; the Welſh Britons, *Dinas Dulin*; the Engliſh Saxons in times paſt, *Duplin*: and all from one of the two original *Iriſh* names of it. The firſt of them was *Dubhlinn*, which imports a *black Depth of Water* that was there. And the ſecond not only was, but is ſtill among all ſorts of Iriſh, not as *Cambden* has it, *Bala-Cleigh* but *Bala-Ath-Cliath*, importing not the Town upon *Hurdles*, but the Town of the *Ford* of *Hurdles*. Which nevertheleſs is conſiſtent enough with the Tradition that when *Dublin* was firſt built, the foundation was laid upon *Hurdles*, by reaſon the place had been deeply mooriſh. I could here add out of *Cambden*, not only that *Saxo Grammaticus* writes, how it was pitifully rent and diſmembred in the *Daniſh* Wars, but alſo that in the Life of *Griffith ap Synan* Prince of *Wales*, 'tis read that *Harald* of *Norway*, when he had ſubdued the greateſt part of *Ireland*, built *Dewelin*. I could likewiſe add my own animadverſions

madverſions on both the one & other paſſage, *viz.* That the *Iriſh* Chronicles make no mention of any *Harald*, either conquering any part of *Ireland*, or building, or ſo much as repairing *Dublin*. That neither does the Author of *Polichronicon* agree in the one or other point deriv'd from that Life. Nay, that according to him *Sitaracus* or *Sitric* was the *Norwegian* Builder of *Dublin*. And yet I could further add that what *Cambden* has next out of the foreſaid Life may be very true. For after telling us, his own opinion of the above *Harald* to be, That he was *Harald* ſurnamed *Harfager*, i. e. of the *Fair Locks* or *Treſſes*, who was the firſt King of *Norway*, he adds, that his Lineal deſcent goes thus in that Life. *Harald* begat a Son named *Auloed* (alias Ablocicus, Aulafus, and Olauus) *Auloed begat another Auloed: this had a Son by name* Sitric *King of Dublin.* Sitric *begat* Auloed, *whoſe Daughter* Racuella *was Mother to* Griffith ap Synan *born at* Dublin, *whileſt* Tirlough *reign'd in* Ireland. And all theſe matters, and much more relating to them, I could dilate upon, were they to my purpoſe here. But they are not: becauſe my purpoſe here is only to trace up the antiquity of *Dublin* as far as I can. And this I have done before out of *Ptolomy*, by ſhewing that City to have been famous in his time, which was above 1510 years ſince. But how long

long before, is a thing wholly buried in oblivion for want of Records. And therefore I pass to my

Second Observation: Which is, to give the original of those *Clanna Ruidhruidgh* against whom the King of *Oirgbillaedh* (alias *Uriel*) with his People was bound to wait on the *Mounster* Kings in their Progress. And this I do because their name is very frequent both in the *Irish* Histories, and in all the Provinces of *Ireland*, among the ancient *Irish* Septs, even at this very time. In short, as their name, turn'd *English*, must be *the Children or descendents of Roderick* (for thus we render the *Irish* name *Ruadruidh:*) so they had that name, as they lineally derive their descent, not from either of the two *Irish* Monarchs call'd by that name (though, to pass by the later, who was the very last of all the *Milesian* Kings of *Ireland*, yet the former of them was so long before as the LXX. Monarch in order of the same *Milesian* Race, who came to the Sovereignty of *Ireland* in the year of the World 4907, that is before the birth of Christ 392 years) but much earlier, from *Ruadhruidh mhac Sithghe* that descended from *Ir* one of the eight Sons of *Milesius*. Which *Ir* being dead before, or at least upon the first partition of *Ireland* betwixt the two surviving Brothers, *Heber* and *Herimon*, and their Cosins:

ſins: and the foreſaid *Ruidhruidh mhac Sitghe* ſucceeding in the Lot of *Ir*, which was in the *North*, he eſtabliſh'd both himſelf and his poſterity there: and in proceſs of time became the great ſtock of a moſt numerous warlike ſtubborn People (and among 'em, Lords, and Princes and Kings too) whereof ſuch as continued ſtill within that portion of *Ir* & Northern Diviſion, are by the reſt of the *Iriſh* call'd *Na Faoir Ulltaigh*, which words import in our Language *the right Ulſter men*. And not only they that ſo remain'd within that *Ulſter* Lot, but thoſe that iſſued from them into the other Provinces of *Ireland*, where many of 'em acquir'd large Territories, have always gone under the name of *Clanna Ruidhruidh*, and by it are diſtinguiſh'd ſtill from all other Families deſcended either from *Herimon*, or *Heber*, or *Ith*, or any elſe whatſoever of thoſe very firſt *Mileſian* Conquerours. Of thoſe of them who had ſo iſſued forth into other Provinces, are the progeny of *Connall Cearnach* in *Leaſe*, a Territory of *Leinſter*, and thoſe Septs in *Connaght*, which go by the peculiar name of *Combaicne Chonnacht*, beſides other Families in *Corcaigh Moruadh* and *Kiarruigh*, parts of *Mounſter*.

Third Obſervation is, That ſo many rich Preſents made in one Progreſs by a Provincial King, muſt argue *Ireland* to have been at leaſt in thoſe days of Paganiſm whereof *Benninn* writes

writes (for he himself flouriſh'd about 1200 years ſince) a Countrey fraught with exceeding great Riches. And verily there are ſeveral other ſtrong arguments to perſuade us, it was ſo. 1. The golden Mines diſcover'd there, under the X. Monarch of the *Mileſian* Conqueſt, by name *Tighernmhais*, and a long time after made uſe of. In ſo much, that the Countrey abounding with gold, the next Monarch after him, viz. *Munemhon*, who died in the year of the World 3872. ordain'd, that all the Gentry ſhould wear golden chains about their Necks. And his next Succeſſor *Allerghoid*'s reign is noted in the *Iriſh* Chronicles, for golden Rings therein firſt uſed in that Nation. 2. The great number of *Silver ſhields* made by the command of *Euno Airgtheach*, the Xvii. Monarch of the *Mileſian* Conqueſt, and together with Caroches and Horſes beſtow'd by him on perſons of Worth. He reign'd ſeven years, and in the year of the world 3882. was kill'd in Battel by his ſucceſſour, having firſt derived from thoſe *Silver Targets* the ſurname of *Airgtheach*, which imports *Silver'd*. 3. The numerous company of Goldſmiths every where in that Kingdom. I am ſure that as *Keting*, (in *Tighernmhais*'s reign) takes ſpecial notice of his name who was the very firſt Maſter *Goldſmith* in thoſe days: ſo does *Gratianus Lucius* enough of latter days, I mean

as

as to that matter of the great number of Goldſmiths in 'em among the *Iriſh*. For in his 118. *p.* he obſerves out of *O Duvegan* that even S. *Patric* had in his own private Family of them at work three, namely *Eſſuur*, *Bidus* and *Taſſachus*. He further adds, that ſcarce in the *Iriſh* Hiſtories may be found an inſtance of any Chalices, Vials, or Utenſils whatſoever dedicated to holy uſes at the Altar or in the Church, other than of pure Gold or Silver. Beſides, that the very coverings not only of Reliques but of Books, all of Silver and Gold, were ſo many throughout that Kingdom ſince it became Chriſtian, as might eaſily perſuade any indifferent man, that of neceſſity their number of Goldſmiths muſt have been very great. 5. The ſpoils of foreign Countreys, which for ſo many long Ages the *Iriſh* gather'd home to *Ireland*, as elſewhere in this Treatiſe has been ſaid. 5. Their being ſo excellently ſeated for Trading, that in thoſe days of old they were mightily frequented by Merchants out of *Spain*, *France*, *Great Britain*, &c. but without queſtion much more than *Great Brittain* was. For proof we have the teſtimony of ſo knowing and ſure a Writer as *Cornelius Tacitus* in his Life of *Agricola*: where ſpeaking of *Ireland* in reference to *Brittain*, he has theſe words, *Melius aditus portuſque per commercia & negotiatores cogniti*, ſignifying,

nifying, That the Havens and Ports of *Ireland* were better known by Commerce and Merchants than those of *Brittain*. 6. The ounce of Gold yearly paid for every Nose in *Ireland* to the *Danish* Victors whilst their Dominion lasted there: which also we have seen before out of *Keting*. 7. The acknowledgment of *Gerald* of *Wales* himself, even for his own time, that is, for the time following the horrible desolation of that Countrey by the long and cruel *Danish* Wars, and the frequent continual plundering of it by the *Norvegians* and other *Easterlings* for about a hundred and fifty years at least. Yet *Gerald*, who in the second or third Age after so much Riches had been carried away thence by those plundering Heathens, was an Eye-witness himself of what remain'd still even in King *Hen.* II. reign, professes that *Ireland* at this very time abounded with Gold. For *Aurum quoque quo abundat Insula* are his own words, *Expug. Hib.* l. 2. c. 15. where, if you joyn with it his seventeenth Chapter, you may observe him not only in three several places referring to and exaggerating this very subject of the *Irish Gold*, but withal supposing in the last of them, that without *Irish* Commodities & Commerce our Island of *Great Brittain* could not subsist.

Besides, I might peradventure to the same purpose of shewing the plenty of Treasure among

among the *Irish*, and that even but a very little time before the days of *Cambrensis* (I am sure I might pertinently enough for shewing their liberality and Piety both, extended even to Forein Parts) alleadg out of the Chronicle of St. *James's Benedictin Cloister* seated at the West-gate of *Reinsburg* (alias *Ratisbona*) in *Germany*, those vast sums of Gold and Silver, besides the great proportion of other rich Donaries bestow'd by the *Mounster* King *Conchabhar O Brien* surnamed *Slapparsalach* and other *Irish* Princes upon *Dionysius*, *Christianus* and *Gregorius*, three successive *Irish* Abbots of that Cloister, and sent unto them by their own *Irish* Messengers come of purpose out of *Germany*, at three several times, and with the Emperour *Conrad*'s Letters commending them that came last. Unto those and these Messengers was delivered so great and Royal a sum by the foresaid King of *Mounster*, that thereby this Cloister was from the very foundations not only re-built in a little time so magnificently, that for the statelinesse of the Work, it surpass'd all other to be seen in those days any where; but moreover, to maintain it and the Monks therein for ever, purchased both within that very City of *Reinsburg*, and abroad in the Countrey, in Houses, Lands, Villages, Towns, a mighty great Revenue and perpetual Estate.

And

And yet after all [*ſupererat ingens copia pecuniæ Regis Hiberniæ*] there was remaining ſtill an exceeding great quantity of the King of *Ireland*'s money, ſays the ſaid Chronicle. For ſo that Author calls the above *Conchabhar O Brien*, though only King of *Mounſter*: the time of whoſe Reign was from the year of Chriſt 1127. when it began, to the year 1142. when he ended both it and together with it his Life in a Pilgrimage at *Kildare*. I ſay nothing of the mighty rich Preſents, which he ſent, and were carried from him, and preſented in his name to the Emperour *Lotharius* the II. by ſome of the nobleſt Peers of *Ireland* who had receiv'd the Croſs for going to the holy War at that time in *Paleſtine*.

But there are two particulars, which on this occaſion coming to remembrance, I cannot paſs over in ſilence. The one is concerning *Marianus Scotus*, a famous man among the Learned, ſpecially Chronologers. For in that *Reinsburg* Chronicle, which ſpeaks of *Gregory*, the third of thoſe *Iriſh* Abbots now mention'd, we have this account of him. 1. That after the ſame *Gregory*, upon the death of his predeceſſour *Chriſtianus*, was choſen Abbot to ſucceed him in the foreſaid Cloiſter of *Reinsburg*, and therefore gone to *Rome* to be conſecrated by the Pope, who then was *Adrian* IV. an *Engliſh* man, at that very time turn'd Monk

in this Cloiſter *egregius Clericus Hibernienſis nomine Marianus*, &c. an excellent *Iriſh* Clerk by name *Marianus* a moſt learned man, who a long time at *Paris* had publickly taught the ſeven Liberal Arts and other Sciences; and was there Maſter to this very *Adrian* who now preſided in the Apoſtolical Chair at *Rome* when the foreſaid *Gregory* was admitted by him to Audience. 2. That among other queſtions *Adrian* enquiring of *Gregory* concerning *Marianus*, his old Præceptor at *Paris*, *Gregory* anſwered him thus, Maſter *Marianus* is well, and having forſaken the World lives with us a Monk at *Reinsburg*. 3. That hereupon the Pope delivered himſelf in theſe words: *God be thanked*, ſays he, *For throughout the Catholick Church, we do not know, under an Abbot, ſuch an other man, ſo excelling in Wiſdom, Prudence, Wit, Eloquence, good manners, humanity, dexterity, and other divine gifts, as my Maſter* Marianus, *&c.* Hitherto the very words of that *Reinsburg* Chronicle, done only into *Engliſh*. Which I have therefore given here (out of *Camb. Everſ. page* 164.) becauſe I would reſtore that famous man to his own native Countrey *Ireland*, notwithſtanding his ſurname of *Scotus*. What time he flouriſh'd we may gather hence: being we know that Pope *Adrian* IV. whoſe Inſtructor in the Sciences he was, died in the year of Chriſt 1159. the fourth

fourth year and tenth month of his Pontificate.

The other particular ſhews how the *Iriſh* had been five hundred years before piouſly munificent to Foreiners come to lead religious lives with them at home in *Ireland:* as we have but lately ſeen they were five hundred years after to thoſe of their own Natives that devoted themſelves wholly to the ſame Life among Foreiners abroad. I muſt confeſs there are many more Inſtances in Hiſtory to ſhew the ſame thing; but this one extracted by *Cambden* out of *V. Bede*, (*l.* 1. *Eccleſ. Hiſtor. cap.* 4.) may be ſufficient in this place. *Colman*, an *Iriſh* Biſhop, found a place in *Ireland* meet for building a Monaſtery, named in the *Scottiſh* (that is *Iriſh*) Tongue *Mageo*. And he bought a part of it, which was not much, of the Earl whoſe poſſeſſion it was, to found a Monaſtery therein: but with this condition annex'd to the ſale, that the Monks reſiding there, ſhould pray for the Soul of him that permitted them to have the place. Now when he had in a very little time, with the help of the ſaid Earl and all the Neighbour Inhabitants built this Cloiſter, he plac'd the Engliſh men there (who were thirty in number) leaving the *Scots* behind him in the Monaſtery which he had be-

Cambden *in his County of* Maio.

fore built in a ſmall Iſle on the Weſt of *Ireland* by name *Inis-Bofindhe*, that is, the *Iſland of the white Cow*. And that Cloiſter which he had built within the Land, is inhabited even at this day by *Engliſh* men. For it is the ſame which of a ſmall one is grown great, and uſually call'd *Mageo*. And now, having this good while turn'd all to better orders, it contains a notable Covent of Monks, who being aſſembled there out of the Province of *England*, according to the Example of the reverend Fathers, under regular diſciplin, and a Canonical Abbot, live in great continency and ſincerity by the labour of their own hands. Hitherto *Bede*. And *Cambden*, where he treats of the County of *Maio* in *Connaght*, adds, that if he deceive not himſelf, that place named *Mageo* in *Bede*, is the very ſame that now we call the Town of *Maio*, the Head of that Shire. Which to be true, not only the neerneſs of *Inis-Bofindhe*, where *Colman* left the *Iriſh* Monks, whom, together with thoſe *Engliſh*, he took along with him from *Lindisfearn* in *Great Brittain* *, but the right *Iriſh* name of *Maio* confirms. For in that Language 'tis call'd *Maghee* even at this day. But 'tis high time now to end a digreſſion, which though at firſt occaſion'd by my reflecting on *Felim mhac Criomthain's*

* Ann 664. *according to the* Saxon *Chronology, printed with* Bede *by* Wheloc.

Criomthain's coſtly Progreſs about *Ireland*, has after by degrees, of it ſelf inſenſibly ſpun out to this length.

61. Although you may ſee for above four *leaves* together (that is from *page* 190, to *page* 199.) very much as well of the great Actions and fortunate ſucceſſes of the laſt *Iriſh* Monarch, *Ruaruidh O Conchabhair*, in his youth, as of the total Ecclipſe of his glory, yea and pitiable change of his Royal State in his old days, to the miſerable condition of a poor, private, flitting, forlorn Exile, and all proceeding from the unnatural cruelty of his own very Son: nevertheleſs, amongſt thoſe former ſmiles of Fortune favouring him, had it occurr'd, I had ſurely mention'd the *General Aſſembly* or *Parliament* of all the Eſtates of *Ireland*, which he held with great ſolemnity in the firſt year of his Reign, being the year of Chriſt 1166. at a place which *Gratianus Lucius* (in his *Camb. Everſ. page* 161.) calls in Latin *Athboylochia*; perhaps that Town which now we call *Athboy* in *Meath*, and the *Iriſh* in their Language *Bale-Ath-Buoy*. But which ſoever, or where ſoever that *Athboylochia* was, the Meeting there was ſo numerous, that, beſides the ſeveral peculiar Trains of the Provincial Kings and other Princes and great Nobles of Lay-degree, and of three Arch-biſhops too of the four, thirteen thouſand Horſe at one

time were counted at it. Nor was this great, and for ought I have read, very laſt Parliament of the *Mileſians* in *Ireland*, more numerous than it was careful to provide for the Commonwealth, by ordaining, That the former ancient good Laws, which length of time and corruption of men had brought to diſuſe, ſhould receive new vigour by a ſevere obſervance and execution of them: but eſpecially, that none ſhould dare infringe the ſacred Immunities of the Church. So in effect ſays my foreſaid Author *Gratianus*. But all would not do. No ordinances of men could prevent the Fate impending from Heaven over their Heads at that very time. For what is decreed by God to fall, muſt fall ſome time. And the time of their Fall had its viſible beginning the very next year, which was 1167. as I have hinted before, *page* 194. and you ſhall ſee at large in the following *Second Part* of his little Work.

62. Reflecting upon my account of *Malachias* (given from *page* 262 to *page* 287 incluſively) and conſidering that I have therein ſaid nothing at all of the famous Propheſie, which goes in his name, of all the *Popes* of *Rome* who were to ſucceed one another from his time forward either to the day of general Judgment, or at leaſt to the final deſolation of that ſeven-Hill'd City: therefore to ſatisfie

in

in some degree such as have the curiosity and leasure to read predictions of this kind, I thought it no great enlargement or extravagance, to let them know of that Prophesie what follows here. 1. That all the best account I have found of it hitherto, is from *Thomas Messingham*'s Book entitled *Florilegium Insulæ SS.* printed at *Paris* an. 1624. who extracted it, as he says, out of *Arnoldus Wion* l. 2. *Ligni Vitæ* c. 40. pag. 307. 2. That (under this Title, *Prophetia S. Malachiæ Archiepiscopi Ardmachani, totiusq; Hiberniæ Primatis, ac Sedis Apostolicæ Legati, de Summis Pontificibus*) it begins with a short line of three words only, and so proceeds on in a hundred and eleven short lines more, one after another, which like the first, contain but three words or four at most, commonly but two, and all in *Latin.* 3. That by so many lines are signified so many Popes, and consequently a hundred and twelve Popes in all that were to succeed in S. *Peter*'s Chair, from the time (as 'tis pretended) of that Prophetie's date, until the consummation. 4. That it names none of them, save only the Last: and for the rest, it leaves us wholly to divine of 'em, and of each a part by the character given of him in the short line answerable only to him by the order of times and succession in the Holy See. 5. That one *Alphonsus Ciacconius* of the *Dominican Or-*

der, has paraphras'd on the first threescore and sixteen of those prophetical Lines, in a Writing distinguish'd into two Columns. Wherein the short Lines of the Prophesie it self, plac'd in order, take up the first Column: the names of the Popes prophesied of, the Second; each Pope directly placed against the Prophesie that foretels him: and the Paraphrases or Expositions, that interpret the predictions and apply them, take up the last, in the same order and opposition. 6. That as this Interpreter begins with *Celestin* the II. of that name, expounding the first Line of him: so he ends with *Urban* the VII. of whom all the Prophesie is only this, *De rore cæli*, which rendred in English is, *Of the Dew of Heaven*, and interpreted almost in as few words by *Ciacconius*, viz. [*Qui fuit Archiepiscopus Rossanensis in Calabria, ubi manna colligitur.*] *Who was Arch-bishop in* Rosanna *in* Calabria *where* Manna *is gathered.* 7. That by this one Example we may both partly gues at the nature of the Prophesies, and plainly see what kind of interpretations of them those of *Ciacconius* are. Whereof every one runs in the same or like manner, endeavouring to verifie the prediction either in the Countrey, or Institution, or Family, or Gentilitial Ensigns, or some accident happen'd to the Pope foretold by it. 8. That as no man has yet ventur'd

tur'd on the interpretation of the next eleven prophetical Lines; which muſt be anſwerable to the next eleven Popes, that before the now reigning Pope *Innocent* XI. have ſince *Urban* VII. ſucceeded in the Pontifical Chair: ſo we can hardly in our days expect any publick interpretation or application of *Bellua inſatiabilis* to the ſame preſent Pope *Innocent*; tho it be what is anſwerable to him in thoſe foreſaid Lines and Columns, if we take exact notice of the Succeſſion. 9. That, (which is more my deſign to give here) all the remaining number of thoſe prophetical ſhort Lines, and conſequently of Popes to ſucceed the preſent, is only twenty ſix in the whole: a number of Popes not ſo very great, but that much leſs than the ordinary age of a man may ſee it over, if they ſhould prove no longer lived than many of their Predeceſſours have; whereof no fewer than eight in a ſucceſſion took up in all but twelve years time. 10. That for the better ſatisfaction of thoſe who may be affected with this kind of reading; and becauſe it will not take up much room, nor require any further dilatation, I give here thoſe very ſix and twenty genuin Lines, which however briefly (and obſcurely too all of 'em, except the laſt) yet in ſome prophetical manner tell us of thoſe ſix and twenty Popes to come in ſucceſſion after his Holineſs that

now

now steers in a great Tempest the old Fisher-Boat of *Peter*.

1. *Pœnitentia gloriosa.*
2. *Rastrum in Porta.*
3. *Flores circumdati.*
4. *De bona religione.*
5. *Miles in bello.*
6. *Columna excelsa.*
7. *Animal rurale.*
8. *Rosa umbriæ.*
9. *Ursus Velox.*
10. *Peregrinus Apostolicus.*
11. *Aquila rapax.*
12. *Canis & Coluber.*
13. *Vir religiosus.*
14. *De balneis Etruriæ.*
15. *Crux de Cruce.*
16. *Lumen in cælo.*
17. *Ignis ardens.*
18. *Religio depopulata.*
19. *Fides intrepida.*
20. *Pastor Angelicus.*
21. *Pastor & Nauta.*
22. *Flos Florum.*
23. *De medietate Lunæ.*
24. *De labore solis.*
25. *Gloria Olivæ.*
26. *In persecutione extrema S. R. E. sedebit Petrus Romanus, qui pascet oves in multis tribulationibus: quibus transactis Civitas septicollis diruetur, & Judex tremendus judicabit populum suum. Finis.*

11. That albeit these Predictions cannot be interpreted before the Popes whom they signifie are chosen: yet the last of them is very singular, being it names the Pope, and is withall both long, and plain and terrible. For thus it runs in English: *In the last persecution of the Holy Roman Church,* Peter *a* Roman *shall sit, who shall feed the sheep in many tribulations: which being over, the seven-Hill'd City shall be destroy'd, and the dreadful Judg shall judg his People.* Though whether we must understand here the final persecution of *Anti-christ,*

christ, and the end of the World, and general Judgment of all Nations in the Valley of *Josaphat*: or whether only the last particular desolation, judgment and ruin of *Rome*, and of the Papacy it self, never to recover more in this World, or at least in that place: I can say nothing to it of either side. But no more of this Prophetical Subject.

What remains, either of Reflection or Addition, are the few points that follow. I forgot to give them in their due places, according to the order of *pages* hitherto observ'd: and therefore I give them here.

63. The first relates to that famous *Beannchuir* Abbey in the North of *Ireland*; whereof I have treated before *page* 62, *&c.* For concerning the greatness of it, you have here an illustrious testimony out of a forein Writer, *Antony Tepez*, in his general Chronicle of the *Benedictin Order*, ad *ann. Christi* 565. *cap.* 2. where speaking of that *Irish* Monastery, he says in express words, *It was one of the greatest our sacred Religion* (he means the Benedictin Order) *had in all* Europe, *nay the very greatest of all that were built in the whole Occident*, and that *no other was comparable to it.* But for the austerity of their lives, the sanctity of their conversation, the power of their doctrine and example, their supernatural gifts; and in a word the extraordinary stupendious hand of God

God with them in all their undertakings who were profeſs'd Votaries in that illuſtrious Cloiſter, we have no leſs forein, and much more ancient Writers than *Yepez* to inform us. And certainly, if we may judg of this matter, by what ſuch credible Authors have written, ſome eight hundred, and ſome a thouſand years ſince of the Miſſionaries of that Abbey, the diſciples of St. *Congellus* (Founder and firſt Abbot thereof) ſent abroad into other parts of *Europe* by him, for the converſion of Infidels, and reformation of evil Chriſtians: there needs no more to convince us, that *Beannchuir* was a moſt perfect Seminary of the moſt truly vertuous and wonderful Monks on Earth. For Example; of St. *Gallus* (the *Iriſh* call him in their Language *Gall*) who was one of the twelve, that in one Miſſion, at one and the ſame time went thence with *Columbanus*, who was the thirteenth of them and Prefect of this Miſſion, thus writeth St. *Notkerus Balbulus* (in his Martyrologe 17 Cal. Nov.) *that he converted the people of* Switzerland *and* Suevia *from Idolatry: confirm'd his preaching to them with the power of Miracles: and that him the divine goodneſs made Apoſtle of the* Allemaigns: *as by whom that Nation which he had found enveloped in Paganiſm was enlightned with true Religion, and brought from the darkneſs of ignorance to the Sun of Juſtice who is Chriſt.*

Christ. So, and much more in short, writeth the said holy *Notherus* of this great Apostle of the *Allemaigns* St. *Gallus*, from whom or whose Monastery, the Town of St. *Gall*, so famous even at this day, hath been called. As for the particulars as well of his stupendious austerity, as Miracles above Nature, they may be seen at large in his Life extant in *Messingham* and *Surius*, written originally by *Walafridus Strabo*. But for *Columbanus* himself (a *Leinster* man born, and but twenty years old when he went to Sea from *Beannchuir*, Head of that Mission) whoever please to read over seriously his Acts, written about a thousand years since by one of his own well-nigh Contemporaries, Abbot *Jonas*, must needs, I think, be suspended in admiration of a man so prodigious in all respects. I cannot be otherwise my self, when I observe the whole course of his Life in *Ireland*, *France*, *Burgundy*, *Allmaign*, and last of all in *Italy* where he died. Nor verily does e'en *Cæsar Baronius* himself, after so many other both ancient and modern Authors, seem less affected with admiration, where he speaks thus of him (ad an. Christi 612.) It appears (says he) to have proceeded from an extraordinary favour of God, that so great a man, come from *Ireland* to *France*, should in the most profligate times illustrate the Church.

A man of such transcendent merits, that if any would in some things equal him to *Elias*, I should not think he err'd. Whereas in this most holy man, living with his disciples in the Wilderness, besides wonderful abstinence, and the most exact observance of all Monastick Rules, and other his eminent Virtues, may be observ'd so great a zeal of the honour of God, and fortitude of Soul to reprove evil Princes. Who also herein was the more like to *Elias*, that he wanted not Persecutors: not even a new *Achab*, and another *Jezabel*, as you your self may find by reading his Life.-- But truly his baniſhment out of *Burgundy* by King *Theodorick*, at the inſtigation of the wicked Queen *Brumchildis* (that bane, that Murdreſs of ten Kings, for ſhe deſtroy'd ſo many, ſome by poiſon and ſome by other damnable ways) and his Journey thereupon to *Italy*, appear'd to be no other than a long continued Triumph for his victory over Kings and their deteſtable cruelty; yea and a wonderful Triumph indeed, becauſe accompanied with ſo many prodigious ſigns and Wonders wrought by him every where as he went along. So ſays *Baronius*, in the foreſaid place, wholly without doubt ſuſpended in admiration of what himſelf does ſo relate of this ſtupendious man of God. Whoſe prophetical Spirit alſo in foretelling King *Lotharius*

ſo

ſo poſitively and preciſely, that within three years the two other Kings *Theodorick* and *Theodobertus* ſhould be deſtroy'd, and he (*Lotharius*) ſucceed them by that time, and be Monarch of all *France:* the ſame *Baronius* (*ad eund. an.*) particularly relates. As alſo he doth, the quarrel of *Bruinchildis* to *Columbanus*, and only cauſe of his baniſhment, to have been, His exhorting the ſaid King of *Auſtrafia Theodorick* to marry a Wife, and turn away his Concubines. For ſhe apprehended, that a regnant Queen or (which is the ſame thing) a lawful Wife would ſurely at long running turn her out from the management of State-affairs, which Whores could not. And then again our great Annaliſt the ſame *Baronius* (*ad an.*615.) returning once more to that heavenly Man, and telling us of his death in *Italy* (after he had founded there the moſt renowned Cloiſter of *Bobium*, as he had formerly done before his baniſhment, that of *Luxovium* in *Burgundy*) he delivers it with this Elogium of him. This year (ſays he) that Wonder-working Adorer of God, *Columbanus*, the terrour and ſcourge of evil Kings, departed this Life. Which Elogium given by ſo eminent a Cardinal, Hiſtorian, becauſe there needs no more be ſaid of *Columbanus*, I will only add the

Ordericus Vitalis Angligena, *in his Book of* Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

the teſtimony of an ancient Engliſh Author, whom I ſuppoſe to have lived and died in forein parts a Monk of *Utica* many hundred years ſince, though lately printed in the Hiſtory of the *Normans*, publiſhed by *Andreas du Cheſne* Anno 1619. *They cannot be ignorant* (ſays he) how the bleſſed Father *Columbanus*, born in *Ireland*, contemporary to St. *Benedict*, having left both his Fathers Houſe and Countrey, and together with other moſt excellent Monks arrived in *France* and receiv'd by *Childebert* King of the *French*, built in *Burgundy* the Cloiſter of *Luxovium*. Nor how being baniſht thence by the moſt impious Queen *Brunichild* and gone to *Italy*, and received there by *Agilulphus* King of *Longobards*, he founded the Cloiſter of *Bobie*. Nor how this wonderful man, labouring amongſt the Chief in the Vineyard of Chriſt, ſhone moſt glorioufly on Earth with Signs and Prodigies. Nor how, as he was taught by the Holy Ghoſt, he endited and preſcrib'd a Rule of Life for the Monachical Order, and was the firſt Author of it in *France*. Nor how from his School iſſued thoſe renowned Monks, that, like ſtars in the Firmament, appear'd in the Church, all reſplendent with holineſs and Miracles. Nor finally can they be ignorant how in particular, *Euſtaſius Luxovienſis*, *Agitus Resbacenſis*, *Faro Meldenſis*, *Audomarus Bononienſis*,

Bononienſis, *Philipertus Gemeticenſis*, with many other moſt excellently religious both Abbots and Biſhops, whoſe ſanctity on Earth not only has been confirm'd by moſt evident ſigns from Heaven, but has even mightily propagated the Church of God amongſt the Children of men, were all of them Scholars of that very ſame wonderful *Columbanus*. And this is the teſtimony in ſhort given of him by *Ordericus Vitalis Angligena*. Which together with what you have ſeen before, though very briefly and almoſt in general of that ſingular Miſſion from the Abbey of *Beannchuir*, may be ſufficient to ſhew the extraordinary holineſs of that place, if we judg of the Tree by the fruit it bears. And the concluſion of all muſt be, that we have reaſon to think, that how great ſoever this *Iriſh* Cloiſter was either for the dimenſion of its buildings and ground whereon it ſtood, or for the number of Monks reſiding therein, which elſewhere we have ſeen amounted to three thouſand: yet undoubtedly it was far more illuſtrious for their ſanctity and perfection of Life.

64. But before I paſs to a new Subject, the Reader will give me leave to obſerve here, that *Antony Tepez*, notwithſtanding his teſtimony for the greatneſs of *Beannchuir*, has been very much out in accounting it one of his own *Benedictin* Order. It was the year

of our Lord 494. that St. *Benedict* himſelf, in the fourteenth year of his age, retir'd from being at School in *Rome* to dedicate himſelf to God in a contemplative Life, as *Baronius* writes in the ſame year. But above a hundred years before that time, *Ireland* was repleniſh'd with perfect Monks, and Monaſteries of St. *Patrick*'s own Inſtitution: being, as we have ſeen elſewhere out of *Henricus Altiſiodorenſis*, it was ſo before St. *Patrick*'s death, and his death happen'd in the year 493, as *Jocelin* ſays. And, if neither by one of thoſe *Iriſh* Monks at home who had their immediate inſtitution from St. *Patric* himſelf, nor by one of their immediate diſciples, yet certainly and at fartheſt very early after St. *Patrick*'s death, it was that that ſo much celebrated *Iriſh* Abby of *Beaunchuir* was founded by St. *Congellus*; and conſequently no later than the Monaſtery of *Columb-Cille* at *Dear-magh*, being the ſame *Congellus* and he were contemporaries. Whence a further conſecution is, that *Beaunchuir* muſt have been founded at leaſt ſome years before *Columb-Cille*'s departing from his Monaſtery at *Dearmach* in *Ireland*, on this Miſſion to convert the *Picts* in the North of *Great Brittain*; which departure of his, according to Venerable *Bede*, was preciſely in the year of Chriſt 565. Now it is plain, that before the year of Chriſt 561. there

there is not in *Baronius* no not ſo much as any mention made of *Benedicts* ſending any of his diſciples to the Weſt, no not into *France* to propagate his Order. Nay before the year 595. his Order had receiv'd no publick approbation from the Church, not even within *Italy* it ſelf. As for *Great Brittain*, 'tis no leſs clear, that the *Benedictin* Order was not heard of there till after *Auſtin* the Monk's coming thither from *Gregory* the *Great* to convert the *Saxons*. And yet we know that long before his time the famous Abby of Monks at *Bangor*, near *Weſtcheſter*, had been founded even by the foreſaid ſelf-ſame *Iriſh* Abbot St. *Congellus*, come thither of purpoſe from his own former Abby, the ſo much admired *Beannchuir* in the North of *Ireland*, to build an other in *Britain* by the pattern of it. But as for *Ireland*, certainly not before all their own rigid auſtere Monks of St. *Patrick*'s Rule, and *Congheall*'s and *Collumb Cille*'s inſtitution had been utterly deſtroy'd by the long *Daniſh* Wars, nor after neither till about the time of *Malachias*, that is even five hundred years at leaſt after the foundation of *Beannchuir*, was any *Benedictin* Abbey there. So far is *Tepez* from any juſt pretence to *Beannchuir*, or juſt challenge to it in behalf of his *Benedictin* Order. Beſides, I think nothing can be plainer, than that St. *Columbanus*, and *Gallus* with thoſe

other eleven holy Fellow-missioners, sent out of the same *Beannchuir*-Abbey into forein parts to preach the Gospel (as has been said before) were of the same Order that was profess'd in that Cloister, being they were themselves profess'd sons and members of it. under the same blessed Abbot *Congellus*, with whose leave and benediction they departed from it on their miraculous fruitful Mission beyond Seas. And sure I am that *Ordericus Vitalis Angligena*, in his eighth Book of *Ecclesiastical History*, near the end, as *Messingham* quotes him, denies they were of the *Benedictin* or any other Institution than that was peculiar to themselves and those of their own Followers in *France*, *Burgundy*, &c. Moreover, I think it no less manifest that if the said illustrious Abbey of *Beannchuir* in *Ireland* had been of the *Benedictin* Order, so must also *Bangor* in *Wales* have been: seeing they had both the same Founder, to wit the Blessed *Congheall*, or (as they call him in Latin) *Congellus*. And yet to assert this of *Bangor* in *Wales*, must be against all reason. Because we know *Bangor* has been so far from any *Roman* or *Italian* Order, that *Dinooth* the Abbot and other Learned men thereof, were the grand sticklers against submitting to the *Roman* Pontiff himself, though so good a man and Pontiff both, as *Gregory* the *Great* was known

known to be. For they were the men pitch'd and relied upon by the *Britons* to be, and accordingly were, as to matter of Learning, the chiefeſt oppoſers of *Auſtin* the Firſt Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* in the Conferences he had with the *Britiſh* Biſhops, to bring them to ſome acknowledgment of and ſubmiſſion to the Pope. And it is no way probable, that *Dinooth* or his Monks, if they had been of the *Benedictin* Order, would have ſo fiercely oppos'd his Legat, eſpecially in point of Canonical ſubmiſſion to the Delegant himſelf, whoſe only authority was it which gave being and credit to the ſame Order, by confirming it ſo lately before in a *Roman* Council. Much leſs would their fierceneſs and reſolution in that matter have been ſo unalterable as to occaſion the ſlaughter of eleven hundred and fifty of their Brethren Monks of the very ſame *Bangor* Abbey at one time and place. Whereof you may ſee the particulars in *Venerable Bede*, l. 2. *Eccl. Hiſtor.* c. 2. and in *Whelock*'s Notes upon this Chapter. So that *Yepez* in making *Beannchuir* a *Benedictin* Abbey, knew not what he ſaid, or at leaſt what could be objected againſt him.

65. Why the *Staff of Jeſus*, mention'd in my 273. *page*, was ſo called, you may read in *Jocelinus*, an Engliſh Monk that five hundred years ſince, at the inſtance of two *Iriſh* Biſhops,

and Sir *John Curey* (whom he calls Prince of *Ulster*, becauſe (as I ſuppoſe) he was the firſt Conqueror of it under the *Engliſh* Crown) digeſted the Life of St. *Patrick* out of many former Lives written of Him by ſeveral Authors, but written by them in ſuch manner and ſtile as did not invite Readers. It is therefore this *Jocelinus*, that in his Life of St. *Patrick*, cap. 24. gives a pretty large account of that *Staff of Jeſus*. Which is, in ſubſtance. That when St. *Patrick*, after a long abode of many years with St. *German* Biſhop of *Altiſſiodorum* in *France*, had with his leave at laſt departed towards *Rome*, in his journey thither he, either by divine inſtinct or Angelical inſtruction, diverted to a certain Iſland in the *Tirrhene* Sea, of purpoſe to viſit a certain holy Anchoret of great fame living there, whoſe name was *Juſtus*. 2. That upon his arrival, after holy ſalutes and ſpiritual conference, *Juſtus* gave him a Staff, ſaying, he had receiv'd it from the very hand of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf; but to be given him. 3. That after this, St. *Patrick* diſcourſing with other men, who lived in the ſame Iſland at ſome little diſtance from the Cell of *Juſtus*, whereof ſome appeared brisk and young, others old even to decrepit age: and underſtanding that thoſe extream old men he ſaw were the very genuin ſons of thoſe other that appear'd young:

young: and enquiring how that could be? One of the ſame young men, both to remove his admiration which was great, and to ſatisfie his demand, gave him this anſwer. *We* (ſays he) from our childhood, through the mercy of God, have been always given to works of mercy: and our door was open to every Traveller, that for Chriſt's ſake deſired either Victuals or Lodging. On a certain Night we received a ſtranger with a Staff in his hand, and according to our beſt ability treated him with all neceſſaries and kindneſs. Next Morning, upon his departure he bleſſed us; nor only bleſſed us, but moreover ſpake theſe words unto us, *viz.* I am Jeſus Chriſt, whom in perſon you have this Night receiv'd into your Houſe, who ſo often before have receiv'd me in my ſervants. And then he delivered the Staff he had in his hand, to the man of God our ſpiritual Father: commanding him to keep it for a certain Pilgrim, by name *Patrick*, who after many days ſhould arrive here, and upon him to beſtow it. Which command given, he preſently aſcended into Heaven: and we have ever ſince remained in the ſame ſtate of youthful countenance, briskneſs and vigour of body we were in at that time. But our ſons that were but little children then, are now according to their age come to be decrepit, as you ſee them. 4. That when

St. *Patrick* had heard all, he gave God thanks: and after a few days longer converſation with *Juſtus*, proceeded on his Journey, carrying in his hand that holy Staff appointed by God himſelf to be an inſtrument for his ſervant *Patrick* to work therewith prodigious things in *Ireland*, as the Rod of *Moſes* had formerly been for effecting the famed Wonders in *Egypt*: the greateſt difference betwixt them being, that *this* of *Jeſus* brought health and life to the *Iriſh* Nation, but *that* of *Moſes*, death upon the *Egyptian*. So in effect *Jocelinus*, moſtly concerning the original of that *Staff*. Unto which he addeth (*cap.* 170.) concerning alſo the powerful Virtue of it, That by lifting it up on high, and threatning with it, St. *Patrick*, after a long Faſt of forty days and forty nights, join'd with continual fervent Prayer, forc'd together out of all parts of *Ireland*, all venomous Animals whatſoever, to the Mountain call'd in Iriſh *Cruachain Ailge*, in the Weſt of *Conaght*, and from thence precipitated them into the Weſtern Ocean, lying under this Mountain: and this with ſuch a bleſſed riddance to the whole Iſland, as to have left or have rendred it ever ſince incapable of harbouring any creature alive that were Poiſonous, though brought into it from other Countreys.

How

How *Keting* understands this later point. we have seen before.. And for *Gerald* of *Wales*, though he acknowledg both the Vertue and name of that Staff, calling it *Virtuosissimum baculum Jesu*, the *most powerful Staff of Jesus*; yet he says withal, that the Origin of it is as uncertain as the Virtue is most certain. Adding immediately in the same place, That in his own time, and by his own Countrey men the *Brittish* Conquerours, that noble Treasure (for so he calls it) was translated from *Ardmagh* to *Dublin*.

What became of it since, I cannot tell. But this I find in St. *Bernards* Life of *Malachias*, that this *Staff of Jesus*, and the Text of the Gospel that was St. *Patrick*'s own Book, or that used by himself, were the two most precious Jewels not only of the Church of *Ardmagh*, but of any in the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*. That they were held by all the *Irish* in the greatest veneration above all other holy Reliques whatsoever; but more especially the *Staff*, as being that which our Saviour Christ himself had both carried in his own divine hand, fram'd by his own peculiar workmanship, and recommended in such a special manner to be given to his Apostolical servant *Patrick*. I find moreover in *David Rooth*, the late *Roman* Catholick Bishop of *Ossory*'s Elucidations upon *Jocelin*, whatever may be objected

jected by *Criticks* againſt this Hiſtory of the *Staff of Jeſus* anſwer'd. For if their Exception be againſt our Saviour's appearing on Earth after his Aſcenſion to Heaven from Mount *Olivet:* he remits then to St. *Ambroſe*, where he tells, in his Oration againſt *Auxentius*, how, very long after that time our Lord appeared to S. *Peter* at a Gate in *Rome*, entring that City. And if it be againſt any ſuch Wonder-working power in the *Staff* it ſelf, though by divine Ordinance or conſecration of it for ſuch uſes: he deſires them to conſider not only the *Rod* of *Moſes* in *Egypt*, and *brazen Serpent* in the Deſart, nor only the *brazen Statue* of our Saviour erected at *Cæſarea Philippi* (otherwiſe called *Paneas*) by the Woman in the Goſpel, cur'd by our Saviour of an Iſſue of blood; but alſo the torn Cloak and poor *Staff* of the Egyptian Anchoret *Senuphius*, wherewith *Theodoſius* the *Great* arming himſelf, and marching confidently in the head of his Troops againſt an infinite number of Enemies, who in one terrible Hoſt came to fight him, obtain'd that miraculous Victory over them, which is recorded by *Metaphraſtes*, and *Glycas* (*Annal. Part.* 4.) and *Baronius* too (*ad an.* 388.) Even that very ſame wonderful Victory, which, the Winds and

Euſebius *l.* 7. Hiſt. *c.* 18. *and* Sozomen, *l.* 5. *c.* 21.

and Tempeſts, fighting for him, and [illegible] their own Darts upon his Enemies, he obtained againſt *Maximus* the Tyrant: and which *Claudian* the Chriſtian Poet has ſo divinely celebrated in heroick Verſe; part whereof ſpeaks thus to *Theodoſius* himſelf:

O nimium dilecte Deo! cui fundit ab antris
Æolus atratas hyemes, cui militat Æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad Claſſica venti.

Beſides, that pious learned Biſhop of *Oſſory* deſires it be conſidered, that the former Hiſtory of the *Staff of Jeſus* has no leſs illuſtrious, famous, approv'd Authors, than thoſe of the later Hiſtory of the Staff of *Semphius* are. But whether it be, or be not ſo, my deſign here is not concern'd. For I have already let the Reader know what is written of, and has been deliver'd all along, and what is believed at preſent among the *Roman Catholick Iriſh* of that religious Relique *the Staff of Jeſus*.

What remains either of Reflection or Addition, are theſe few Notes that follow. I have indeed forgot to give them in their due place, according to the order of *pages* obſerv'd hitherto in this Section. But that will not hinder the underſtanding them, where they are given here.

The

66. The first is a very material Animadversion upon my 146 *page*. Where, because following the authority of *D. Geoffrey Keting*, I suppos'd, and accordingly told of an *Interregnum* in *Ireland*, that by reason of the over-ruling power of the *Danes*, and their great Commander *Turgesius*, had succeeded immediately upon the drowning of the Monarch *Niall Caille:* I must here let the Reader know, that *Gratianus Lucius* (page 297 and 298.) brings several arguments to evince not only, That there had never been any *Interregnum* at all of the *Irish* Monarchy at any time during either of the two *Danish* Wars; nor consequently *Turgesius* the *Dane* had ever succeeded, not even by usurpation, any of the *Irish* Monarchs; but that *Keting* was led into Errour in this particular by *Gerald* of *Wales*. Among which arguments are these two: 1. That Sir *James Ware* in his Catalogue of the Kings of *Ireland* lately publish'd, makes no mention at all of *Turgesius*. 2. That the Annals of *Ireland* place both the end of *Niall Caille*'s Reign, and the beginning of *Maolseachluinn* I. in the year of our Lord 844. But, as to the *Interregnum*, neither of these arguments, nor any other which I have yet seen, evince more than that the *Interregnum* was very short, and concluded with one year.

The

67. The second Note must refer to *p.*222, *&c.* where the Subject treated is the true Christian religious great Vertues indeed of as many *Irish* Monarchs, or Kings of all *Ireland*, as I have remembred there. but the addition to them here is only of two more, *viz. Ainmirus* the son of *Sedna*, and *Donnaldus* the son of *Aidus*. For so they are call'd in *Latin* by *Gratianus Lucius*: though in *Irish* their names and surnames are *Ainmhire mhac Seadhna*, who was the XI. and *Domhnall mhac Aodh Slaine*, who was the Xviii. Christian King of all *Ireland*.

The former, com to the Sovereignty in the year of Christ 563. but parted from it, and his life too, by a horrible murther committed on him in the fourth year of his Reign, was so Christianly zealous for the purity of Religion, Rites, Discipline, Church, that he could not abide the least blemish, spot or wrinkle in any of them. In so much, that in the *Irish* Histories it is specially recorded of him to his great honour, how, when he had observ'd some things amiss in the Rituals, *i. e.* some Errours crept in, or some deviation from the Rules prescrib'd them, though but so lately before, by their great Apostle St. *Patrick*: and when about the same time he had heard by fame of the excellent knowledg, integrity, sanctity, wisdom of *Gildas* in *Great Brittain*; he sent his own Letters to invite him to *Ireland*,

towards

towards the reforming there whatever had been so amiss. But why *Gratianus Lucius* here, gives the surname of *Badonicus* to *Gildas* (for he calls him *Gildas Badonicus*) I confess I do not know, nor can conjecture, unless perhaps that Northern Mountainous Countrey (in *Yorkshire*) now call'd *Blackemere* in English, but formerly in Latine *Mons Badonicus* has been the native Countrey of this ancient Father. This I know, that in *Bibliotheca Patrum* he is surnamed *Sapiens*, or *Gildas* the *Wise*. And moreover, that *Polydore Virgil* (l. 3. *Hist. Angl.*) writes how *Gildas* himself has told us his little Book (*de excidio Britannico*) that himself was born that very year wherein the *Britons* had obtain'd against the *Saxons* the famous Victory at *Mons Badonicus*, which was the forty fourth year after the first landing of *Hengistus* and *Horsus*, being the year of Christ 492. Unto which if we joyn what the same *Polydore* had said before (*l.* 1. *Hist. Angl.*) of *Gildas*, viz. That he flourish'd about the year of Christ 580. we may conclude, that certainly the time set down in the *Irish* Books for his going to *Ireland*, as invited thither by the foresaid Monarch *Ainmhire mhac Sedhna*, agrees full well with this time and age of *Gildas* then.

The later of these two Monarchs, namely *Domhnal*, son to *Aodh Slaine*, who not only came

came with pure hands without blood to the Crown, but after fourteen year's glorious Reign first, and then eighteen months ſickneſs, parted with Crown and life together peaceably on his Bed (which was in that Nation a very ſingular bleſſing of God.) This *Domhnal* I ſay, beſides his other great Vertues, is moſt deſervedly celebrated for a very great Exemplar of Chriſtian humility and contempt of himſelf. He had through human frailty committed ſome fault; which, though I do not find expreſs'd or ſpecified what it was; I find notwithſtanding the rareſt inſtance of Repentance, ſubmiſſion and humiliation of a King in him, that could be, to procure the forgiveneſs of it from his own Subject, tho a holy man of that Nation, call'd St. *Fechinus*. For, after earneſt humble entreaties to this man of God for pardon, when he had found him backward ſtill, and hard to relent, he proſtrated himſelf on the ground at his feet, and ſuffered him to tread on his bare neck.

67. My next additional Note although of another Subject, tends nevertheleſs very much to the magnifying of the *Ancient Iriſh*, as to that natural heroick Vertue which next to the favour of Heaven preſerv'd them for ſo many Ages a Free Nation; Martial courage and Valour I mean. And therefore this Addition muſt relate to thoſe *pages*, where (from 25 to

to 40.) I treated before, of the *Daniſh* Wars in *Ireland*. However, it is ſuch an addition to the brave performances of the *Iriſh* in thoſe Wars, that I know not whether it be not the greateſt of them all. I am ſure that as it was very great indeed: ſo the *Iriſh* Nation is beholden to a Foreiner, namely *Adolphus Cypreus*, for tranſmitting the remembrance of it to Poſterity, in his Annals of the Biſhops of *Sleſwick*, a City in *Denmark*. For theſe are his own *Latin* words in the *ſixth page* of that Work: *Reynerus Rex Danorum* LVI. *potentiſſimus, qui tamen ab excitata fortuna, quæ ipſi in ſubjugandis Regnis Sueciæ, Ruſſiæ, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Norvegiæ, & Hiberniæ plurimum favit, ad inclinatam & pene jacentem deſcivit. Namque ab Hella Hiberniæ Rege captus, in carcere expiravit, ſub an.* 841. In *Engliſh* theſe: "*Reyner* "the LVI. moſt powerful King of the *Danes*, "who nevertheleſs from the height of For- "tune that favour'd him ſo mightily in ſub- "duing the Kingdoms of *Swedland*, *Ruſſia*, "*England*, *Scotland*, *Norway*, *Ireland*, was "thrown down as low. For being taken by "*Hella* King of *Ireland*, he died there in pri- "ſon about the year 841. And yet I muſt obſerve here with *Gratianus Lucius*, 1. That *Cypreus* miſtook both the name and quality of him that took Priſoner this great *Daniſh* King. 2. That no King of *Ireland* nor Provincial, nor

nor even other leſſer King in *Ireland* was ever call'd by the name of *Hella:* nor was that name of any body at all known among the *Iriſh*. 3. That the right *Iriſh* name in all likelihood was *Oillioll*, which becauſe hard of pronuntiation, Foreiners miſtook or chang'd it to *Hella*. 4. That ſince Chriſtianity planted in that Countrey, not even any *Oillioll* was King among 'em, ſave only the Monarch *Oillioll* (ſurnamed) *Molt*, who was next ſucceſſour to *Laoghaire mhac Neill* in the year 458. and was killed in Battel *An.* 478. And laſtly therefore, that he muſt have been ſome great General of an Army, and his name *Oillioll*, that took this great *Reynerus*, and kept him in Priſon till he died.

68. Another is of the *Fatal Stone*, as they call it, and refers to *page* 378. where I ended my Animadverſions on the *Scottiſh* Hiſtories concerning *Fergus* I. Of that famed Stone, *Keting*, in his Relations of the People call'd *Tuath De Dainainn*, gives this account. 1. That this Nation, who were the laſt poſſeſſors of *Ireland* immediately before the *Mileſian* Race, had on their arrival there from *Norway* brought with them four ſpecial Jewels of extraordinary uſe: namely, a Sword, Lance, Pot, and the *Enchanted Stone*, which in *Iriſh* they call by one name *Liath Fail*; by an other, *Cloch na Cineambna*, this later importing in Engliſh, the

Stone of Destiny, or *Fortune*. 2. That after the *Milesiaus* had conquer'd those *Tuath-Da-Danan*, and consequently got possession of this Stone, and after they had not only plac' d it at *Teambhuir* (our *Tarach*) where all their Nobles and people did usually meet to chuse the King of *Ireland*, but ordain'd that the new Elect should sit thereon: as soon as he did so, the Stone under him, by vertue of some Magical or Diabolical Charm, gave such a mighty loud ecchoing, astonishing sound, that presently the Election was known thereby far and near. 3. That this Oraculous Vertue of it ceased, as some say, when the Pentarchy was set up in that Kingdom by the Monarch *Eochadh Feilioch*; or, as others say, about the time of our Saviours birth, when throughout the World all the sallacious Oracles of the *Gentiles* became mute. 4. That for its name of *Cloch na Cineambhne*, or Stone of Destiny, or *Fatal Stone*, the reason was an old Prophesie, deliliver'd of it by Tradition, which *Hector Boethius* rendred thus in *Latin* Verse:

Ni fallat Fatum, Scoti hunc quocumq; locatum
invenient Lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

But in *Irish* Meeter, it is in *Keting* thus:

Ciniodh Scoit saor an Fine, man ba breag an Faisdine,
mar a bhfulghid an Liath Fail, dlighid flaitheas do
(ghabhail

Im-

Importing in both, that where-ever the *Scottiſh* Nation did find that Stone, they ſhould have Dominion, Power, and Regal Majeſty. 5. That becauſe of this prophetical Prediction, and reputation of it, when *Fergus* that famous Invader of the *Picts* (I mean *Fergus Mor mhac Ercho, mhic Eochadh muin reamhair*, as the *Iriſh* call and genealogize him, from his Father and Grandfather, whom the *Scottiſh* Hiſtorians call *Fergus* I.) would be created K. over hisown conquering Nation, the *Scots* of *Pictavia* or *Albania* in *Great Brittain*, he ſent to his Brother *Mairchiortach Mor mhac Ercha*, (then Monarch of *Ireland*) for this fatal Stone, and had it over into *Scotland*, of purpoſe that by ſitting on it when he was created King, he might aſſure the eſtabliſhment of his Crown, and power of his own People, in his new conquer'd Kingdom. 6. That for many enſuing Ages it remain'd there for a monument (either of Religion or Superſtition) being in the ſame manner, and to the ſame purpoſe ſate upon by the ſucceeding Kings of *Scotland* till *Edward* I. of *England* in the current of his Victories had it brought away out of the Abbey of *Scone* to the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*. Where, ever ſince, it has been kept, placed under the Royal Chair which the Kings of *England* uſually ſit in at their Coronation. 7. That in the memory

of our Fathers, that prophetical Prédiction of it and the ancient *Scots*, which you have but now ſeen, was fulfill'd in *England* too, when *James* VI. of *Scotland* was crowned King of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, and has ever ſince continued to be more and more verified in the ſucceſſion of *Charles* I. of glorious memory, and *Charles* II. our preſent moſt gracious King. For by the line of *Maine mhic Cuirck, mhic Luighe*, they are deſcended through a World of Generations of ancient *Scots* the *Mileſian* Iriſh, from *Heber*, who (as has been already noted elſewhere) being the ſon of *Mileſius*, and in a joint Sovereignty ruling with his Brother *Herimon*, was three thouſand years ſince King of all *Ireland*. And this is the account which *Keting* (where he treats of *Tuath-De-Danainn*) gives of that *fatal Stone*. Save only that he makes no expreſs mention of *Charles* II. nor could indeed, as who died himſelf in the Reign of *Charles* I. But nevertheleſs he expreſs'd his mind ſufficiently, as to the purpoſe of that Fatal Prediction, by naming his Father and Grandfather both. I am ſure his expreſſion of joy in the ſame place, for their having ſucceſſively come to be Kings of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, muſt have involv'd the concomitant wiſhes of his heart for their poſterity after them to attain and continue the ſame glory

while

while time ſhall be. And therein he has me to join, with all my very Soul.

69. The Fifth may be referr'd to *page* 155. where I treated briefly ſomewhat of *Cormock O Cuillenain* that excellent, pious, holy man, who was at the ſame time both Arch-Biſhop and King of *Mounſter*, and continued ſo for ſeven years together, that is, even all along till he loſt his life in the Battel of *Mughna*. For to this rare Example of the ſame man's being both King and Prieſt, may be added one more of the ſame Nature, and in the very ſame Kingdom of *Mounſter* too. Where, as *Keting* acquaints us, upon the Death of *Duibh Lachne* next Succeſſour in that Provincial Kingdom to *Cormock O Cuilleinan* for ſeven years more, the Princes and Gentry meeting choſe another Prieſt, nay a Monk to be their King, even the Abbot of *Inis Catha*, by name *Flaithbhertach mhac Jonmhuinein:* who reigned thirteen years over them. And they choſe him, notwithſtanding he had been the chief Adviſer of *Cormock O Cuillenain* ſo lately, that is but ſeven years before, to venture that Battel againſt *Flann mhac Sionnadh* the Monarch, and the *Leinſter* King *Cearbhall mhac Muirégein*, which prov'd ſo fatal to that good King, and his whole Kingdom of *Mounſter*, and to this very Abbot himſelf troubleſom. For he was taken Priſoner in it, and as ſuch detain'd

ſome time at *Kildare* by that *Leinſter* King, until at the interceſſion of the Abbeſs of Saint *Bridgets* Monaſtery in that Town, he was releaſed and return'd to his own Abbey of *Inis-Catha* in *Mounſter*. Whence after ſome few years, wholly employ'd there in rigid aſcetical exerciſes, he was call'd upon and e'en compell'd to take the Royal State of a King. So ſays *Keting* in his Reign of the ſaid Monarch *Flann*. Where alſo he notes occaſionally an other great Errour of *Hanmer* in his Chronicle. For *Hanmer* (page 88.) ſays, that both the foreſaid *Cormock O Cuillenain* King of *Mounſter*, (but he makes him King of *Ireland*) and *Cearbhall O Muirreigein* King of *Leinſter* were kill'd by the *Danes* in the year of our Lord 905. Whereas on the contrary, neither was *Cearbhall* kill'd in that year, nor that Battel fought of either ſide by the *Danes*, but of one ſide by the Monarch, and of the other by *Cormock* who periſh'd therein. All which is abundantly teſtified by the Authentick *Iriſh* Book of that very Battel, which Book has for Title, *Catha Bheala Mughna*. Beſides, as *Keting* obſerves in the ſame place, the *Danes* attempted nothing at all, no not once againſt the *Iriſh*, during the ſeven years Reign of *Cormock O Cuillenain* over *Mounſter*. Nay, there was ſo general a peace over all *Ireland* for this time, ſo great plenty of all earthly

bleſſings,

bleſſings, ſo univerſal a Reformation of manners, and ſo much devotion and zeal in all ſorts of people for reſtoring what had been deſtroy'd by the firſt *Daniſh* Wars and other attempts following it, that nothing was to be ſeen more frequent now than every where repairing the old, and building new Churches, Colledges, Hoſpitals, Monaſteries. Yea, the numbers of men dedicated only to a religious life was ſuch at this time, that *Cormock O Cuillenainn* tells in his *Pſalter* of *Caſhel*, that in *Muinghaird* (formerly call'd the City of *Deochaine-aſſain*) there was a Monaſtery with ſix Churches belonging to it in the ſame Town, wherein the number of Conventual Monks was 1500. whereof five hundred were learned Preachers, five hundred Pſalmiſts to ſerve conſtantly in the Choire, and four hundred old Fathers applied wholly to Contemplation. Such was the happy ſtate of *Ireland* in the ſhort Reign of the ſame *Cormock* over *Mounſter*; which muſt have been at or a little before the year of Chriſt 914. becauſe this year ended the thirty eight years long Reign of the Monarch *Flann mhac Sionna*, who kill'd in Battel that good King *Cormock*, as we have ſeen before.

70. The Sixth being an addition to what has been ſaid before againſt *Hanmer*, page 403. gives you to underſtand, How *Dionbhuillach*, ſon to the King of *Denmark*, invading *Ireland*

with a mighty Force, landed in the *North* and march'd his Army ſo far as *Ardmach*. How *Conchabbar* the firſt Provincial King of *Ulſter*, with his own people the Sept of *Clanna Ruadhruidh* (i. e. the Children or Deſcendants from one *Ruadhruidh*, whom they call *Ruadhruidh Mor*) and with them alone, nay with tumultuary ſmall Forces rais'd out of them, found himſelf neceſſitated to attack theſe *Danes*. How, by the advice of one *Geanann Gruadhollas*, leſt the *Iriſh* Youth ſhould be contemn'd by the *Daniſh* old experienc'd Soldiers, *Conchabbar* uſed the ſtratagem of tying Locks of grey wool in form of beards to their cheeks and chins, whereby having made 'em ſeem the more conſiderable to the Enemy, as if they alſo had been Veterans; and then giving a furious charge on *Dionbhuillach*, he defeated utterly all his *Danes*. How theſe aſcititious woollen beards were call'd in their Language *Ulladh*, and from them it was that ever ſince the Northern Province of *Ireland* has been call'd (in the ſame *Iriſh* Language) *Ulladh*, which we in ours call *Ulſter*. How that, which we have here obſerved, having been the iſſue of *Dionbhuillach*'s Invaſion, and the time when it happen'd, as *Keting* writes, having alſo been the Reign of *Eochadh Feiliech* the *Iriſh* Monarch, and Author of the *Pentarchy*, who died in the year of the World 5069.

3069. that is just a hundred and forty years before the birth of Christ, according to the computation follow'd by *Lucius:* nothing can be desired clearer to evict *Hanmer*'s little skill in the *Irish* History, and his manifold Errours in delivering (as you have seen before *page* 386.) so many other Invasions of the *Danes* on *Ireland* and Conquests therein, long before the year of Christ 800.

71. My seventh Note, being likewise an addition, is to supply what I purposely omitted in my 17th Page. There I mention'd occasionally the *Picts* arriving in *Ireland* out of *Scythia*, so long since as the Reign of *Herimon*, the first *Milesian* Monarch of that Kingdom; but little more of 'em, save only their being made Tributary some Ages after in *Scotland* by the *Irish*. Indeed when I writ and printed that *Page*, I did not think of enlarging as I have done since. And therefore partly for haste, and partly for compendiousness, I pass'd then over several particulars, which I had before me that very time in *Keting*, and he has at large in the foresaid Reign, concerning those *Picts*. But seeing I have since, though contrary to my first design, dilated on other matters: I think it not amiss to add somewhat more of that *Pictish Nation*. And this for two reasons. The first is, because 'tis not only of all hands confess'd, the *Picts* had been

a *warlike ancient People*, but *Venerable Bede* repreſents them as *moſt powerful* too in the year of Chriſt 569. In which year, ſpeaking of *Columb Cille*'s landing in their Country from *Ireland* to convert 'em, he has theſe very words, *Regnante Pictis Bridio, filio Meilochon, Rege potentiſſimo*, &c. The ſecond: Becauſe both the time of their firſt appearing in theſe parts, and their very Original, *i. e.* what Country-men they were, or whence they came, have continued for many Ages hitherto, at leaſt of late they are vexatious Queſtions. As may be ſeen in *Cambden's Britannia*; where he has given a *Title* of the *Picts* and four *pages* (in *Holland*'s Tranſlation of him) to reſolve theſe Queſtions. Though, after all, he ſeems to me no nearer the Truth in his conjectural deciſion of either the one or the other, then *Buchanan* has before him; nay wider from it as to the later Queſtion, than either *Campion* or *Hanmer*, or any other follow'd by them. Theſe, for ſo much, had the good luck to yield to the Authority of *V. Bede.* in his *Eccleſ. Hiſtor. l.* 1. *c.* 1. where he expreſly tells us to this purpoſe, 1. That when the ancient *Britons* had poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Southern Parts of this Noble Iſland, which derives its name from them, it happen'd that the Nation of *Picts* departing from *Scythia*, entring the Ocean, wind-driven to *Ireland*, landing there, deſiring the Inhabitants

bitants the *Scots* to afford 'em Elbow-room for Cohabitation; and being denied this, but nevertheleſs directed by 'em to the Northern Tract of *Great Brittain*, and withal promis'd their aſſiſtance (if need ſhould be) to conquer it by force: they by this direction and promiſe encourag'd, put to Sea preſently for that ſame Northern Tract; and landing therein, made it their habitation. 2. That wanting Women, and deſiring Wives of the *Scots*, they had 'em on this condition, That whenever the ſucceſſion to the Crown amongſt their People ſhould chance to be controverted, the Female's line Royal ſhould prevail, and the King be choſen thence. Which is even to this day obſerv'd among the *Picts*, ſays *Bede*, ſpeaking of his own time. 3. That they had a peculiar Language of their own. For (in the ſame *Chapter*) he notes particularly, how according to the number of the Five Books (of *Moſes*) wherein the Divine Law had been written, *Brittain* in his time praiſed God in five divers Languages; *viz.* thoſe of the *Engliſh*, *Britons*, *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Latins*; this laſt made common to them all by their ſtudying the Holy Scriptures.

Yet notwithſtanding this plain account of the *Picts*, given by *V. Bede*, as to their great Antiquity or Time of their firſt appearance in theſe Weſtern Iſlands, and the Countrey, whence

whence they came to them, being that of *Scythia:* not only *Buchanan*, but *Cambden* by little Criticisms and other weak conjectures would fain persuade us they had only been a part of the ancient *Britons* retired from the South and power of the *Roman* Legions in the same Island of *Great Brittain*, &c. into the more uncouth inaccessible Northern parts thereof. That they were no earlier known by the name of *Picts*, than the Reign of the *Roman* Emperours *Diocletian* and *Maximian Herculeus*. And that their Language differ'd not in substance but only in a certain kind of Dialect from the *Britisb* Tongue spoken by the rest of their Countrey-men the other *Brittons*. But the words of *Bede* are clearer, and his authority greater than the arguments they bring are able to elude or impeach. Nor indeed can any thing more be desired to end these two vexatious Questions concerning that *Pictish* Nation, save only the particulars given by *Keting* out of the most ancient authentick Records of *Ireland*. These are of such irrefragable authority, that I am persuaded, were they known to *Cambden*, he had never disputed the matter. At least I believe he should not, if he had well consider'd of it. The *Irish* were the Nation, that, by the confession of all sides, from the beginning press'd longest and hardest of any upon that Northern Countrey inhabited

ted by the *Picts* in *Great Brittain*. They were the Nation that by degrees conquer'd ſo many of their Provinces, planted ſo many Colonies in 'em, eſtabliſh'd a King of their own over the ſame Provinces long before the *Romans* attack'd either. Yea, they were the Nation that utterly ſubdued at laſt the whole *Pictiſh* Kingdom and extinguiſh'd in it the very name of *Picts*. Wherefore it is plain, that as the *Iriſh* were moſt concern'd, ſo they had the beſt means of any to know both the time of their firſt appearance, and Countrey too from whence they came: as the *Picts* themſelves were pleas'd to tell 'em. And ſeeing it is no leſs plain, out of what has been ſaid elſewhere in theſe Diſcourſes, that the *Iriſh* Nation in all times had their publick Regiſters, wherein with the greateſt care and certainty could be, all the Concerns of their People both at home and abroad, together with all other matters they thought fit, were recorded: it muſt follow, that their account of the *Pictiſh* Nation, as to thoſe two controverted points, ought in reaſon to ſilence any other fancied by men of later days. Now in that *Iriſh* account, beſides what you have ſeen already out of *Venerable Bede*, there are many more particulars, given at large by *Keting* out of the *Pſalter* of *Caſhel*, whereof the chief heads are theſe: 1. That in *Thracia* this People we call

call *Picts* ſerving *Policornus*, the King of that Countrey, in his Wars, for pay, but under a General and other Commanders of their own: it happen'd that their General, whoſe name was *Gud*, underſtanding for certain how the King had deſign'd to raviſh his beautiful Daughter, if he could not otherwiſe make her his Whore, prevented him by taking away his Life. 2. That thereupon this *Gud*, flying immediately with thoſe of his Soldiery who were reſolv'd to run his fortune, put to Sea where he found convenience, and roam'd up and down till he arriv'd in *Gaule:* where being well entertain'd by the King of that Kingdom, his Daughter's beauty prov'd the ſecond time his bane, after he had built, or at leaſt began the building of *Pictavis*, from his People ſo called; (we call it now *Poictiers.*) For then obſerving that this *Gauliſh* King alſo had the ſame deſign upon her that the *Thracian* had, he ſaw there was no abiding there without ſacrificing her honour to his Luſt. And therefore in all haſte, but as privately as he could, he put to Sea again with his own People, where he was toſs'd ſo long till the occaſion of all his woe his beautiful Daughter died; and ſoon after he and his People arriv'd ſafe in *Ireland*, at a place call'd in the *Iriſh* Tongue *Inbher Slaine*, or the Mouth of the River *Slane* in *Leinſter*, which now we call the Haven of *Weixford.*

3. That

3. That one by name *Criomthann Sciathbheal*, being then Commander of *Leinſter* under *Herimon* the Firſt *Mileſian* Monarch of *Ireland*, hearing of their landing, came to them: and ſeeing them brave men, entertain'd 'em willingly of purpoſe to aſſiſt him in fighting ſome *Britiſh* Troops, whom the *Iriſh* Books call *Tuath Fiodhgha*, whoſe Lances and Arrows were poiſon'd to ſuch degree that whoever was wounded by 'em could have no cure but Death. 4. That after this League of Friendſhip made, one of the *Picts*, called *Troſdan*, a great Magitian, underſtanding of the common danger from thoſe poiſon'd Weapons, advis'd the ſaid *Leinſter* Commander to provide againſt the day of Battel a 150 white, milch, crumple-horn'd Cows, to be milk'd all together when the Fight began; the Milk put into a Hole prepar'd of purpoſe hard by, and the wounded men to run preſently and bath therein: which being obſerv'd, the effect prov'd anſwerable to expectation, and the *Brittains* were quite overthrown, with the loſs of moſt of their Lives upon the ſpot. 5. That upon this ſucceſs, at leaſt not long after it, the *Picts* looking big, growing unruly, and even aſpiring to the Command of that whole Province of *Leinſter*; but the Monarch *Herimon*, made acquainted with it, drawing together a greater Power then they dared fight, they

they were compell'd to accept of his Terms, and hye them away out of hand with his directions and assistance for the Northern parts of *Great Brittain*. 6. That nevertheless before their departure they obtain'd of *Herimon* three *Irish* Ladies, by name *Beanbhreasi*, *Beanbhuain*, and *Beanbhuaisdhne*, who had been the Widows of three of *Herimons* Commanders, and taken these names from 'em, kill'd in the late War with *Tuath-De-Danann:* and these were all the Women they could obtain (at least then) though upon that very condition told us by *Bede*. The first of 'em married to *Cathluan* the chief Commander now of the *Picts*: for it seems his Father *Gud* was before this time departed the World: the other two married to two more of their Nobles. Nor could any of them obtain leave to stay in *Ireland*, but only six, *viz. Trosdan* the foresaid Magitian, *Soilean*, *Ulpre*, *Neachtan Nar*, *Aongus*, and *Leatan:* who had possessions given them for ever by *Herimon* in the Countrey of *Breagh Mboigh*, now call'd by us *East* and *West Meath*. 6. That the foresaid *Cathluan* was the first King of the *Picts* in *Cruithin-Tuath*, or *Tuath Chruinigh* (for by both these compound names indifferently the *Irish* Books call that Countrey in the North of *Brittain* which the *Picts* erected to a Kingdom, and call it so properly enough, as importing in *English* the

Lordship

Lordſhip or *Dominion of the Picts*; the ſimple word *Tuath* ſignifying in *Iriſh* a Lordſhip, and *Cruinigh* the *Picts* themſelves. 7. That after him in a ſucceſſion reign'd in the ſame Countrey (at leaſt in ſome part of it) and of the ſame *Pictiſh* Nation, Threeſcore and Ten Kings more, to *Conſtantine* the laſt of 'em.

And theſe being the Heads of thoſe particulars that concern them in the *Pſalter* of *Caſhel*, written by the Holy *Cormock O Cuilenain* Arch-Biſhop and King of *Mounſter* eight hundred years ſince, and by conſequence written either immediately before or immediately after, (I am ſure much about) the time of their laſt fatal overthrow by his Countrey men the *Iriſh* and their Iſſue in *Scotland*; we need no longer queſtion either the time of that *Pictiſh* Nation's firſt appearance, or the Countrey they came from to the Weſtern parts of *Europe*. As neither indeed whence they deriv'd the cuſtom of painting themſelves. They might have learn'd this from the *Agathyrſi* in *Thracia*, if themſelves had it not before: yea, they might be the firſt that us'd it in *Great Brittain*; and the *Brittons* might have only had it from them, for any thing ſaid to the contrary. And they came as early to *Ireland* and *Scotland* both as the Reign of *Herimon* the firſt *Mileſian* Monarch of *Ireland*, after he

had kill'd his elder Brother *Heber*, to whom he was but joyn'd in Sovereignty while *Heber* lived. Nay, we need not question how long this *Pictish* Kingdom lasted. For seeing it began at least as early as *Herimon*'s death, I mean by this account in the *Psalter* of *Cashel*; and that, by Primat *Ushers* account, it continued to the year of Christ 840. then we must conclude, that according to *Gratianus Lucius*'s computation of the years of the World, and years also of all the several *Irish* Monarchs Reigns, the *Pictish* Kingdom lasted 2623 years in all. For this Author fixes the death of *Herimon* in the year of the World 3516. and the Birth of Christ in the year 5199. as *Eusebius Cæsariensis*, one of the Fathers of the first General Council of *Nice*, did long before him.

What more I have to say in reference to the *Picts*, their Kingdom, or Kings, is, That as I was writing this Reflection, Mr. *Langhorn*'s Introduction to the History of *England* being brought me by chance, and looking it over, I observ'd, That altho the ingenious Author gives no more light therein concerning the Countrey whence those *Picts* came first to *Ireland*, and thence to *Scotland*, nor of their Leaders name, nor of the time of their arrival amongst us, than other late Writers, especially *Campion* and *Hanmer* did before him, who call that Leader King *Roderick*, and

and say this *Roderick* came to *Ireland* from *Scandia* (alias *Scandinavia*) which goes under the name of *Scythia Germanica*, or the *German Scythia*: yet he gives therein (*page* 197.) a Catalogue of the *Britiſh* Kings, and years of their ſeveral Reigns, partly out of *John Fordon*'s M. S. *Scoto-Chronicon*; and partly out of *Hector Boethius*, who adds to the 76 Kings in *Fordon*, five more. So that both numbers, put together, make juſt the very ſame number of *Pictiſh* Kings, which the *Pſalter* of *Caſhel* has. Though I muſt confeſs there is no other agreement in any point between that *Pſalter* & theſe Authors, either as to the names of thoſe Kings, or years of their Reigns, or total ſum of theſe years. Neither is there in that whole Catalogue any *Roderick* either as firſt or laſt, or any at all of them, nor any thing near his name. The very ſame you may aſſure your ſelf of *Cathluan*: whom nevertheleſs you have ſeen before, out of the *Pſalter* of *Caſhel*, to have been the firſt *Pictiſh* King. As for the total ſum of the years of their Reign, which by caſting it up out of the ſeveral Reigns every body may ſee is 1165. it plainly comes ſhort, by 1452 years, of the former account derivable from the *Pſalter* of *Caſhel*, and *Uſher* & *Lucius*. Beſides it neceſſarily muſt ſuppoſe the *Pictiſh* Kingdom began in *Scotland* e'en four hundred

years full before any *Picts* landed in *Scotland* or came from *Scandinavia* to *Scotland*, or *Ireland*; which does not ſtand with the time of their coming ſet down by our new Hiſtorians, and laſt of all by *Langborn* himſelf. As for the names expreſs'd in that Catalogue, all I can ſay is, that if we give credit to *Nennius*, a *Britiſh* Author that liv'd (as himſelf writes) *an. Chriſti* 830. under *Anarawgh* King of *Angleſey* and *Guinedh*: if beſides we ſuppoſe his Book rightly tranſlated into *Iriſh* in *O Duvegans Miſcellanies*: and if withal we believe, that *Gratianus Lucius*, quoting both, would not impoſe upon us, nor I on you or my ſelf: what follows muſt be, That we give no kind of credit to the foreſaid Catalogue drawn out of *Fordon* and *Boethius*, not even (I mean) as to thoſe names of the *Piciſh* Kings contain'd therein. For the ſame *Gratianus Lucius*, after letting us know (in his *Cambr. Everſ. page* 93.) That himſelf had a Copy of thoſe *Miſcellanies*, and among 'em the Catalogue of all the *Piciſh* Kings, written by the ſaid *Nennius*, then preſently, though upon another occaſion, names five and forty of 'em: and I am ſure that of this very number (tho only a part of *Nennius*'s Catalogue) there are at leaſt ſix and twenty names that have no affinity with, no reſemblance at all nor imitation of any in the whole Bedroll of *Boethius* and

Fordon

Fordon, as I find this given by *Langborn*. So much of the *Picts*. And therefore now to my

Eighth Note. Which, as it refers to several places of this Book, particularly to *page* 5, and all other *pages* indeed where I suppose the *Milesians* either to have possess'd themselves of *Ireland* as early as the year of the World 2736. or not to have continued longer a free People under their own Laws and Kings then about 2500 years: So it is meerly occasion'd by what I said but now in my *Seventh Note* concerning the extent of time, which the *Pictish* Kings must have lasted according to the Chronology of *Lucius* and *Usher*. In short, I must on this occasion tell you here, That as to the *Milesian* Kingdom's answerable extent of Time, *Keting* and *Lucius* agree. Save only, That *Keting* (as himself professes in his *Preface*) following that computation of the years of the World, which allows only 4052 years from the *Creation* to the *Incarnation*, and consequently in this, coming short 1138 years, of the computation of *Eusebius*, would needs reform the *Irish Regnal* (for so they call the Book of their Reigns) by shortning the Reigns of several of their Monarchs, by so many years in all as amount to above four hundred, that is, 491 years, and this of purpose to make the whole

extent of Time and the ſeveral Periods from the firſt Plantation of *Ireland* by *Partholan* to the Reign of *Ruaruidh O Conchabhar* the Laſt *Iriſh* Monarch of the *Mileſian* Race, agree the better with his own foreſaid *Computation* of the years of the World. And *Lucius*, on the other ſide, as he follow'd *Euſebius*'s Computation of the ſame years of the World, (which is that commonly follow'd by both *Greeks* and *Latins*, ſays *Sixtus Senenſis* *:) ſo he held ſtiffly and throughly to the *Iriſh Regnal* as to the years of each *Mileſian* Monarch's Reign. And therefore the difference 'twixt theſe two Writers, in relation to *Ireland*, or to any period or extent of the periods of Time ſince its firſt Plantation, is only that of near five hundred years during the *Mileſian* Monarchy. In all other points, concerning this matter, they both agree. As for Example, That *Ireland* was firſt planted by *Partholan*, about three hundred years after the *Deluge*: that his Poſterity continued there three hundred years: and the next Invaders *Clanna Neimheadh* 217 more: and after them, the Nation call'd *Fir-bholg*, thirty ſix: and after theſe, another Nation, by name *Tuath-De-Danann*, for 197 years: and then immediately the *Mileſians* coming

*, Biblioth. S. *l.2. page 46. verb.* Adæ Genealogia.

coming in, continued ſince to the year of Chriſt 1172. So that *Keting* and *Lucius* being throughly agreed in all theſe points: their difference about the whole extent (of their ſeveral periods) mention'd before, can be no other than that of *Keting*'s voluntary cutting off from the *Mileſian* Reigns about five hundred years. Or rather indeed, eſpecially if we conſider how *Keting* himſelf confeſſes he did ſo, and for what end he did it, even contrary to the *Iriſh Regnall*, we may conclude there is no difference at all as to the undoubted extent of all thoſe ſeveral Periods of Time; though *Keting* place the *Mileſian* Epocha in his year of the World 2736. and *Lucius* the very ſame Epocha in his year of the World, 3500. For albeit this diverſity of placing it argues 1172. years difference between 'em in ſtating the years of the World: and that *Keting* choſe rather to follow the far more likely computation of *Auguſtinus Torniellius* (in his *Annales Sacri & Profani**, *ab Orbe condito ad eundem Chriſti paſſione redemptum*, come out a little before *Keting*'s time, (though he makes no mention of them or him) than be led by that of *Euſebius* who was himſelf moſt probably miſled by the grand

* Torniel. *Serv.* M. *ætat. ad an.* 4052.

Errour of the *Septuagint Version* *: yet no difference at all, as to stating strictly the extent of Time or number of years which the *Milesian* or other former Conquests or Plantations of *Ireland* had continued, can be deduced thence. Only it argues, that either the one or other was mistaken in the number of the years of the *World*, or in fixing 'em. Which is enough to be said on this Subject occasionally. And therefore I will only add here what as occasionally comes now to mind. That whether (in my *Title-page*) by the year of the World, 2736, you understand the year accounted such according to the computation of *Torniellius* and *Keting*, or the other accounted such by *Eusebius* and *Lucius*: I am neither way my

* See Sixtus Senen. Biblioth. S. l. 2. page 45. *but more at large* l. 5. page 420. *where he shews that the computation of* Eusebius, *as to the years only from the* Creation *to the birth of* Abraham, *exceeds the* Hebrew *true computation in One thousand two hundred thirty six years. Nay, in the former Place, he shews that whereas from the Creation to the Flood* Moses *counts only 1656 years, the* Septuagint Interpr. *exceed him in 786 years. So that by their supputation to the Flood only, the number of years is 2242. From which diversity, the great contention arose betwixt the* Hebrews *and the* Greeks *in computing the years of the* World. *So says he, l. 2. pag. 45. verb.* Adæ Genealogia.

my ſelf, nor any thing in this Book concern'd. Though otherwiſe I would, as to this point, much rather hold with thoſe, than theſe: retaining nevertheleſs all due veneration to the name of *Euſebius*, as who had been not only one of the Three hundred and eighteen *Nicene* Fathers, and Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtin*, but worthy (as *Conſtantine* the *Great* ſaid of him) to be Biſhop of the whole *Earth*.

The Ninth and laſt Additional Note has no reference (that I can remember) to any thing ſaid before in any of my *pages*. However I give it, becauſe I ſee *Gratianus Lucius* thought it not unconducing to the honour of the *Ancient Iriſh*. For it is in ſhort: That the Warlike Nation of the *Heruli* who inhabited ſome Northern Iſlands and other Tracts near *Germany*, a Nation too well ſometimes known to the *Roman* Provinces harraſs'd by them, did glory in their two Kings *Dathen* and *Aordon*, as deſcended from the *Iriſh*: and that *Suria*, born of an *Iriſh* Lady deſcended from the Kings of *Ireland*, had the ſupream Power of *Biſcay* an. 870, as abſolute Princeſs thereof, which ſhe tranſmitted to a long ſucceſſion of Deſcendants from her. Whereof you may ſee *Gratianus Lucius* (page 299.) where he quotes *Wolfgangus Laſſin. de Migrat. Gent.* l. 12.

And

And so (Reader) you have at last an end of all my additional Notes, and consequently of all whatever I thought necessary to say (according to the design and method of this little *Tract*) of the *Ancient Irish*, as they were a free Nation about 2500 years under their own Laws and Government. For indeed my design hitherto, as you may easily perceive, was either only, or at least chiefly to represent them as they appear'd in the World before the loss of their freedom, or their subjection to a forein Power. Nor had I any farther (if it be a farther) end in the matter, then That of your understanding throughly, at least sufficiently, who, or what kind of People were the *former* of those two Nations, whose Posterities I have before (*i. e.* in the very beginning of the *first Section, page* 5.) observ'd like the *Twins* of *Rebecca*, contending these last five hundred years in the bowels of *Ireland*. But who the *later* Nation were: and how, and by what degrees, and means, they not only for many Ages got the better of the *former*, but subdued them utterly at last in the memory of our Fathers: and what besides happen'd in our own days to the Issue as well of these *Conquerours*, as of those conquer'd by 'em in that Country, will be the subject of the *Second Part*.

FINIS.

Additions

Additions.

1. AFTER the Fourth *Observation* on the Catalogue of Kings, add what follows here, *viz.* That although it be no part of my business in this Place, to speak in particular of any of those Kings, other than what I have already of a few of 'em, and that only for thy better understanding the said Catalogue; yet because I considered that peradventure the Relation of *Sierna Saogball-ach*'s (See the Catalogue, *Numb.* 27.) long extent of Life and Reign, is the only extraordinary of all whatsoever delivered anywhere in the whole *Irish* History, concerning any of so great a number of Monarchs, or Kings, and Sovereign Princes of *Ireland*, some Readers will boggle at or scruple the truth thereof, by objecting, How it seems at least improbable that he should be a hundred years old when he came to be Monarch; or should reign a hundred and fifty years after; or should be in all two hundred and fifty years of Age when he was kill'd by *Roithechtsigh* (alias *Roithsigh*) mhac *Roain*: therefore to shew that this Relation of him is not improbable, I give here those arguments that convince my self. And to say nothing of his Surname *Saogh-*

alach,

alach, which attributed to him alone among all other *Irish* Kings (whereof notwithstanding some had reigned 60. others 70 years) must import him to have been of extraordinary Long Life, and even a man of Ages: what convinces me, is, 1. That not only the *Irish Book of Reigns*, besides many other ancient Monuments and Historians of that Nation who speak of this Subject (and after them *Gratianus Lucius* in our own time) have deliver'd it so; but *Keting* himself (though he be the chiefest of all the Historians of later days, that to reduce the *Irish Chronology* to an agreement with his own *Computation* of the years of the World, would consequently needs reduce those hundred and fifty years of *Sioma*'s Reign to 21.) confesses they did so. 2. That very good Historians both ancient and modern of other Countreys tell us, how in later Times then *Siorna Saoghallach*'s Reign, there have been many that lived as long, and some longer then he. And yet I'le lay no stress on *Xenophon*'s writing, That a certain Maritim King lived 800. and his son 600 years. Nor on *Ravisius* giving the very same, or at least the like Relation of one *Impetris* King of the *Plutinian* Islanders, and his Son. Nor on *Pliny* recording the five hundred years life of *Dondonius*, a *Selavonian*. Nor on *Homer* or his Followers, speaking *Nestors* age to have been

300 years. Neither on *Hellanicus*, a most ancient Writer, saying, That in the Province of *Ætholia*, some lived 200. others 300 years. Nor on *Onesicritus* neither, though attesting the same age of two and three hundred years even as very *ordinary* in the Island of *Pandora*. All these I pass over, because I am not certain of the Age of the World they lived in: that is, whether it was not of earlier *Date* than *Siorna Saoghalach*'s reign, who was kill'd *An.M.* 4169. according to *Lucius*. My instances are in *Servatius* Bishop of *Tongres*, and *Joannes de Temporibus*, and *Xequipir* an *Ethiopian*, and the Nameless *Indian*, living in the same Time and Kingdom of *Bengala* with *Xequipir*. The first of these four died in the year of Christ 403. after he had lived 300 years, as *Sigebert* in his Chronicle, and others write. The second took his denomination or surname *de Temporibus* from those 336 years he had lived under many Emperours, whereof one was *Charles* the *Great* of whose Life-guard he had sometimes been; and another was *Conrad* III. in whose Reign he died in *France*, An.D. 1139. as not only *Petrus Messias* in the said *Conrad*'s Life; but the Author of *Fasciculus Temporum* and many more Writers affirm. The third, I mean *Xequipir*, was yet alive so near our own time as the year of Christ 1536. after having lived till then 300 years. For so *Hernandus*

Lopez

Lopez à Caſtagneda (l. 8. *Chronici*) has written of him. The Laſt, or the Nameleſs *Indian*, had in the foreſaid year of Chriſt (1536) come to the year of his own age 335. ſays *Joannes Petrus Maffeius* l. XI. *Hiſtor. Indic.* and before him the above *Lopez*: both the one and the other telling us many more particulars of *Xequipir*; and *Lopez* ſom of this Anonimus *Indian*; but neither being able to recount, or give us any light to ſee how many years more either of 'em lived, nor when they died. Of all which you may read more at large in *Auguſtinus Torniellus*'s *Annales Sacri*, &c. ad *an. M.* 1556. *n.* 4. *&.* 5. And ſo I have given the two arguments which convince my ſelf, that from the Relation of *Siorna Saoghalach*'s Life of 250 years, *&c.* nothing can be derived to make any Reader at all ſcruple the truth of the *Iriſh* Hiſtory of that Kingdoms Monarchs or Kings. Nor by conſequence any thing againſt the *Catalogue* of them (which you have in the beginning of this Book) or the long extent of Time which (in all) they reign'd, according to the Title of that Catalogue.

2. After the Laſt *Inference* from the ſame Catalogue; add this here as an other, *viz.* That notwithſtanding any thing ſaid hitherto, as it is confeſs'd, that the former ſixteen of thoſe 23 of the *Engliſh*, or Fourth and Laſt Conqueſt of *Ireland*, never aſſum'd the Stile or Title of

Kings

Kings of Ireland (for *Henry* VIII. was the First of this Conqueſt that aſſum'd it; altho nevertheleſs all the ſame former ſixteen Kings of *England* were Sovereign Lords of *Ireland* too, at leaſt by Title, every one in his turn, ſince the 17th year of *Henry* the II's reign over *England*) ſo it muſt be confeſs'd, That properly ſpeaking, none of thoſe *Iriſh* Kings who rul'd in Aſſociation, with any other, could be called *Monarchs*, while their Aſſociation laſted. And we ſee by this Catalogue, that ſuch were in all (at leaſt for ſome time) 29 among thoſe of the former Three Conqueſts; whereof One and Twenty were *Mileſians*. Which is the reaſon that *Cambrenſis*, where he tells us of 181 Monarchs of the *Mileſians*, muſt be corrected as to that appellation or Title of *Monarch*, attributed ſo indiſtinctly by him to them all: and ſo muſt I, whereſoever, in this *Former Part* of my *Proſpect*, I have in this particular follow'd him. The *Iriſh* Hiſtorians, in their own Language, ſpeak more properly, giving 'em all the Title of Kings of *Ireland*.

Errours

Errors in the Matter, where, and where they are corrected.

THE First, in Page 4. and 16. concerning *Eoghun Mor* and *Aonghus Ollbhuadhach*, but corrected *p.* 89. and 435. The second *p.* 67. about *Dearmach*; corrected *p.* 181. Third, in *p.* 18. concerning *Muiritadhach*'s Six sons, &c. and corrected *p.* 93. Fourth, *p.* 19. about the *nine Hostages*; corrected *p.* 359.

Errors in Words and Letters,

to be corrected by this following Table, wherein the first Number signifies the *Page*, the second the *Line*; a, *add*; d, *dele*; and r, *read*.

First in the *Dedicatory*, 2. 7. d. *as*. Secondly, in the *Preface*, 7. 18. d. *his*. 35. 16. r. 1662. *p.* 39. 31. r. 1694. Thirdly, in the *Former Part*, 35. 5. d. *the Monarch*. 71. r. *Tighernmhais*. 99. 16. d. *to*. 107. 29. d. *of* 137. 6. r. *the*: and again 8. r. *the*. 180. 14. for *Diarmuid* r. *Donhuall*. 221. 7. *Tanaturga*. 272. 8. for *him* r. *it*, and 24. r. *or any*. 317. 13. d. *to*. 319. 1. 2. *as*. 351. 14. r. *Monmouth*. 354. 13. r. *understood*. 382. 21. r. *Ætius*. 385. 26. r. *other*. 387. 8. r. 51. 389. 19. r. *Language*, and 29. r. *Niall*. 395. 7. d. *was*, and for *kill'd*, r. *died*. 413. 9. r. *Trouts*. 414. 1. r. *Leap*, and 8. for *though* r. *the*. 434. l. 26. r. 219. 459. 2. r. *Notkerus*. 461. 26. r. *To*, and in the Note l. penult r. *Books*. Lastly, observe that the *Orthography* of all the proper *Irish* Names and Surnames of the Kings throughout this whole Book, must be corrected by that in the *Catalogue*, where any variation appears.

332162